

MAINTAINING THE CRITICAL BALANCE: THE UNITED STATES,
NATO, AND THE EUROPEAN SECURITY EQUILIBRIUM
IN THE POST-COLD WAR OPERATING ENVIRONMENT

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Military History

by

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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2012

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 30-06-2012		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AUG 2011 – MAY 2012	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Maintaining the Critical Balance: The United States, NATO, and the European Security Equilibrium in the Post-Cold War Operating Environment				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) RUSSO, JOSEPH J., LTCOL				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT Faced with geo-political dynamics which were temporarily suppressed during the Cold War, Europeans are again witnessing the confluence of economic instability, ethnic and religious tension, empowerment of a resurgent and influential Germany, and renewed anti-Western sentiment in the wake of disputed Russian elections. These factors are compounded by the emergence of an unstable arrangement of developing nation states, non-state actors, ethnic discord, economic instability and terrorism, previously managed and contained during the Cold War. It is intended that by means of a historical analysis of NATO's origins, this study will provide perspective and consideration for the continued importance of the Transatlantic Alliance, and notably for the historical relevancy of U.S. participation in NATO, as factors to both U.S. and European security and stability. In doing so, the work intends to produce considerations regarding the importance and means of continued U.S. participation in NATO, as these factors relate to the prioritization and application of economized U.S. military assets and capabilities in an increasingly unstable operating environment.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS NATO, Transatlantic Alliance, Coalition Operations, Operations Allied Force, Enduring Freedom, Iraqi Freedom, Unified Protector, Forward Deployed, Global Access, Pre-positioned, Command and Control, 21st century					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
			(U)	168	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

MAINTAINING THE CRITICAL BALANCE: THE UNITED STATES, NATO, AND THE EUROPEAN SECURITY EQUILIBRIUM IN THE POST-COLD WAR OPERATING ENVIRONMENT, by LtCol Joseph J. Russo, 168 pages.

Faced with geo-political dynamics which were temporarily suppressed during the Cold War, Europeans are again witnessing the confluence of economic instability, ethnic and religious tension, empowerment of a resurgent and influential Germany, and renewed anti-Western sentiment in the wake of disputed Russian elections. These factors are compounded by the emergence of an unstable arrangement of developing nation states, non-state actors, ethnic discord, economic instability and terrorism, previously managed and contained during the Cold War. It is intended that by means of a historical analysis of NATO's origins, this study will provide perspective and consideration for the continued importance of the Transatlantic Alliance, and notably for the historical relevancy of U.S. participation in NATO, as factors to both U.S. and European security and stability. In doing so, the work intends to produce considerations regarding the importance and means of continued U.S. participation in NATO, as these factors relate to the prioritization and application of economized U.S. military assets and capabilities in an increasingly unstable operating environment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I have fully realized throughout my career, I continue to benefit from the great fortune of having been surrounded by extraordinary people and equally remarkable opportunities. The opportunity to write this thesis, and the incredible interaction I have had with so many people along the way have been no exception.

I would like to begin by thanking the many individuals with whom I have had the honor to serve over the past twenty years, and by the outstanding manner in which they have performed for their units and their country. I have invariably benefitted personally and professionally by their association. Indeed, any success which I have enjoyed has truly been the product of their incredible efforts.

I would like to thank the Hoover Institution, Stanford University and the Graduate Degree Program at Fort Leavenworth for allowing me the freedom, access and support to take on this study. The year long fellowship at Stanford has truly been among the most broadening, enjoyable and rewarding experiences I have had in my career. Specifically, I'd like to thank Randy Masten, Dr. Constance Lowe, Dr. Chris Gabel, Dr. Bob Oster, Dr. Kori Schake and Dr. Victor Davis Hanson for their time and mentorship in helping to structure this thesis. I would additionally like to thank my fellow 2011-12 National Security Affairs Fellows for their experience, guidance and friendship throughout this past year.

Finally, I'd like to thank my parents for their development and enthusiastic support of my interest in history, and my family; my wife Diane, daughter Christina, and son Anthony who have both assisted in this study and stoically put up with the many long separations throughout my career.

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ACRONYMS

AFSOUTH	Allied Forces Southern Europe
BENELUX	Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg
CENTCOM	Central Command
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DC	Defense Committee
DCI	Defense Capabilities Initiative
DOD	Department of Defense
DPC	Defense Planning Committee
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defense Community
EEC	European Economic Community
ERP	European Recovery Program
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
EU	European Union
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
ICS	Integrated Command Structure
IFOR	Implementation Force
KFOR	Kosovo Force
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Non Proliferation Treaty
NRF	NATO Response Force

NSS	National Security Strategy
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PFP	Partnership for Peace
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander; Europe
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander; Atlantic
SC	Standing Committee
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SNF	Short Range Nuclear Forces
STANAVFORMED	Standing Naval Force Mediterranean
TEU	Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty)
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

History takes revenge for forgetfulness if somebody deliberately forgets the significance of European affairs or neglects them.¹

— Andre Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister
at the U.N. General Assembly, 1968

Overview

For centuries, the European continent has served as a dynamic center of world politics. “Driven by intellectual ferment, global exploration, scientific and technological advances—not to mention economic and political revolutions—European states have struggled among themselves for mastery of the continent and global pre-eminence.”² Today, a more inwardly focused Europe again struggles with the challenges of its historical foundations. Faced with geo-political dynamics which were temporarily suppressed during the Cold War, Europeans are again witnessing the confluence of economic instability, ethnic and religious tension, empowerment of a resurgent and influential Germany, and renewed anti-Western sentiment in the wake of disputed Russian elections. While few analysts are predicting an apocalyptic collapse of civility and peace as was reflected by two World Wars in the 20th Century, the memory of those cataclysms remains an ever present reminder of the dire ramifications of untended

¹The National Archives, “The Cold War: An Eyewitness Perspective by Harlan Cleveland,” <http://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/cold-war/symposium/cleveland.html> (accessed 11 January 2012).

²Alan R. Freed and Associates, “The Euro-Zone; The United Nations, NATO and the Future of U.S.-European Cooperation,” http://www.publicpolicyseminars.com/fp_euro.html (accessed 27 November 2011).

discord on the European continent. Despite a global shift of political and economic interest to the Middle East and Asia Pacific regions, the importance and influence of the European continent on the increasingly global nature of security, stability and economic vitality are arguably as important today as they have ever been in its long history.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was originally envisioned as a post-World War II, Transatlantic Alliance developed to produce a collective defense to potential threats; most notably that of the Soviet Union and a resurgent Germany. In 1989, the world witnessed the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent development of a dynamic and tumultuous post-Cold War world. The disintegration of NATO's forty year, primary reason for existence, or *raison d'être*, called into question its continued relevance to a world in which new international relations were to be defined by diplomacy and compromise.³ Remarkably rapid in its transformation, the bi-polar geo-political and military landscape which enabled the sustainment of this alliance for over forty years suddenly found itself replaced by an unstable arrangement of emerging nation states, non-state actors, ethnic discord, economic instability and terrorism, previously managed and contained during the Cold War. No longer tied by a sense of a common enemy and mutual reliance, NATO partners further witnessed the highly politicized divergence of formerly shared interests.

During the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO has been defined by organizational adaptation, increased membership, a broadened mission

³President George H. W. Bush, "New World Order" (Speech to Congress, 6 March 1991), http://wadsworth.com/history_d/special_features/ilrn_legacy/waah2c01c/content/amh2/readings/bushnwo.html (accessed 4 November 2011).

scope, and heightened differences within the Alliance; particularly between the United States and its Western European allies. NATO's invocation of Article 5, in response to the 11 September, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, while historic, was ultimately limited in its actual worth as a unified response. Within a short period of time, divergent national interests and a notable imbalance in member capabilities within the Alliance re-emerged. These fissures were highlighted in the 1999 NATO air campaign in the Balkans, and grew dramatically in the contentious build up and execution of Operation Iraqi Freedom in the spring of 2003. They would continue through NATO's assumption of combat operations in Afghanistan and Libya. While differences among member states have existed since NATO's formation, the Alliance's expansion, and the current geo-political situation have only served to highlight and exacerbate the perceived imbalance.

In the years following the Cold War, the rise of the United States as the world's lone superpower highlighted internal weakness and operational capability imbalances within the Alliance which had long been tempered by NATO's focus on the Soviet threat to Western Europe. While a great deal of research exists regarding the overall success of NATO during the Cold War as a deterrent to potential Soviet aggression, and on its many adaptations since the collapse of the Soviet Union, an analysis of the historical intricacy of NATO's formation may provide additional perspective on the future relevancy of the Transatlantic Alliance in the years ahead.

Numerous initiatives have been taken over the years to close the gap on divergent national agendas and perceived inadequacies in capabilities among member nations. As NATO has expanded its operational scope beyond the defense of Europe itself, an

analysis of how NATO came into being, how it managed its members' differences in the past, and why member and partner imbalances continue to exist today may offer insights into an understanding of its current capabilities, considerations for future development, and hybrid options for its members and partners in the challenging years ahead.

Despite its changing roles, scope and missions in the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO has arguably retained a critical role in the sustainment of the intricate balance between economic and political stability, and associated security assurances on the European continent and beyond. More than a mere Cold War relic, the Transatlantic Alliance, while not without its constraints and challenges, continues to provide a mature, recognizable and adaptable forum of dialogue and collaboration from which the global interests of both the United States and its European allies can be developed and applied.

Purpose of Study

On 4 April, 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington, DC by its twelve originating members; Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom and the United States.⁴ NATO's ensuing sixty-three years would witness both its worth as a collective defense of Western Europe and subsequent "defeat" of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It would also come to experience its own struggle for relevancy both during the Cold War, and notably in the tumultuous, post-Soviet world. While a great deal has been written regarding the resilient transformation of the Alliance from a Cold War deterrent, to a

⁴Jennifer Medcalf, *NATO; A Beginner's Guide* (Oxford: One World Publications, 2005), 13.

post-Cold War stabilizing force, NATO's existence during the Cold War, and engagements since the collapse of the Soviet Union have been perceived by some to have levied a disproportionate level of responsibility on the shoulders of the United States. In light of proposed Department of Defense (DOD) budget cuts in the United States, and ongoing economic challenges, both in the United States and European Union, this study will provide a historical analysis of the formal entry of the United States into the European security equilibrium in the years immediately following World War II. In doing so, it is intended to provide perspective on the value and importance of the Transatlantic Alliance, and on the continuation of U.S. participation in NATO in today's dynamic, 21st Century operating environment.

Proposed Thesis Title

The following thesis title is proposed: "Maintaining the Critical Balance: The United States, NATO, and the European Security Equilibrium in the Post-Cold War Operating Environment."

Primary Questions

The primary questions which this study will seek to answer are: "Using a historical assessment of NATO, its origination and functions in the years immediately following World War II, what role has the Transatlantic Alliance played in the European security equilibrium, and in what way has that role changed in the post-Cold War operating environment?" To answer these questions, several secondary questions must be explored:

Secondary Questions

An exploration of the genesis of NATO will begin with a review of its history and origins in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

1. How, in fact, did NATO come into existence? The study will look at the development of a bi-polar, Cold War operating environment and its impact on the geo-political landscape which shaped the creation of this Transatlantic Alliance. A review of the dialogue between British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and United States' Secretary of State George Marshall in 1947 is intended to provide a foundation for an understanding of the fears and concerns of Western European victors which led to alliance negotiations in 1948. Key events in Europe following the Second World War will be reviewed, to include the Greek Civil War, Czechoslovakian Coup, and implementation of the Marshall Plan and associated Berlin Airlift. A review of Congressional testimony regarding the retention of U.S. troops in Europe, as well as the impacts of the failure to ratify the European Defense Community will help lay the ground work for an understanding of the formative years of NATO, its origins, mission, organization and the critical, yet controversial role of U.S. participation in the Alliance.

2. What key factors have changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and what impact have they had on a post-Cold War NATO?

- a. Out of Area Mission Shift
- b. Incorporation of Warsaw Pact Nations
- c. Utility of Force and the Changing Nature of Warfare

3. What assessment can be made of NATO's relevancy, responsiveness, and equitable burden sharing as applied to key, post-Cold War interventions?

- a. Operation Desert Shield/ Desert Storm
 - b. Operation Allied Force (Balkans)
 - c. Operations Iraqi Freedom and Enduring Freedom
 - d. Operation Unified Protector (Libya)
4. How might a period of sustained economic austerity and defense budget cuts impact the operational capabilities and burden sharing of NATO members?
5. What organizational steps may be taken to eliminate redundancies, eliminate cost sharing imbalances among member nations, and further align European Union (EU) collective defense efforts with those of NATO?

Main Assumptions

There are several assumptions which have been applied to this work:

1. The primary assumption is that the operating environment in which the original 1949 treaty was envisioned and ratified is perceived to have been so dramatically altered since the collapse of the Soviet Union that a significant re-shaping of NATO as an alliance was essential for it to maintain relevancy in the emerging post-Cold War global environment.

2. Within the context of this global, geo-political change, a secondary assumption is that the intricate historical, cultural, geo-political and economic forces which have shaped centuries of conflict and co-habitation on the European continent remain, in varying degrees, active and potentially volatile.

3. A third assumption is that many U.S. critics of the burden sharing imbalance view American participation in NATO as of primary benefit to Europe, as opposed to one of mutual benefit to the each side of the Transatlantic Alliance. Conversely, many

European critics would argue that NATO has become a mechanism for engagement in “America’s Wars.”

4. Finally, as the United States shifts its strategic prioritization to the Pacific, and simultaneously attempts to emerge from the challenges of an economic recession, a decade of sustained conflict, and an accrued, multi-trillion dollar deficit, it is very likely to look to significant cuts in its defense budget as a means to plot a course to a more stable fiscal health. The potential ramifications of such shifts and significant cuts in defense spending will arguably alter the structure, world-wide capabilities and responsiveness of America’s armed forces. Experiencing similar challenges, NATO members and partner nations will likewise be faced with difficult choices in the years ahead regarding both the readiness and capabilities of their military forces, as well as their willingness to commit those forces to combat, peacekeeping, stability and support operations, both in Europe and in support of “out of area” missions.

Significance of Study

It is intended that by means of a historical analysis of NATO’s origins, this study will provide perspective and consideration for the continued importance of the Transatlantic Alliance, and notably for the historical relevancy of U.S. participation in NATO, as factors to both U.S. and European security and stability. In doing so, the work intends to produce considerations regarding the importance and means of continued U.S. participation in NATO, as these factors relate to the prioritization and application of economized U.S. military assets and capabilities in an increasingly unstable operating environment. Do better alternatives or hybrid manifestations of NATO’s structure, organization, and mission exist which might more effectively and efficiently maintain the

“equilibrium” in Europe, while enabling tailored, coalition participation in future operations?

Research Methodology

In order to assess NATO’s current effectiveness as an alliance, and the critical role of U.S. membership and participation, it is useful to establish a sound understanding of the origins of this transatlantic partnership. To do so, this study will commence with a historical review of the organization’s creation, members, mission and the critical importance of U.S. participation at its inception.

Having established a sound understanding of the organization, its mission and origins, this work will then assess the effects of an array of key, sweeping geo-political, military and economic events which have occurred since NATO’s ratification. In doing so, it is intended that this research will establish a clear sense of the development of U.S. and European perspectives on the mission and capabilities of the Alliance itself.

The study will then briefly assess several key, post-Cold War engagements in which NATO forces and their existing command, control and doctrine were employed. This work will specifically look at Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, air and peacekeeping operations in the Balkans, Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and NATO’s most recent participation in Operation Unified Protector in Libya. While there are numerous other operations in which NATO forces were either active participants or providers of support, it is intended that this portion of the research simply provide an overview of the organization’s demonstrated capabilities as a means to both examine the perception of the critical role of the United States as a key enabler, force

provider, and command and control agency during each of these operations, and serve as a baseline for future initiatives and force considerations.

Finally, this work will provide a summary of its historical analysis as a means of providing context to the viability and importance of the Transatlantic Alliance in the current operating environment. This section of the study will additionally offer considerations for future collaboration, burden sharing, and force development.

The research methodology which will be used to answer the thesis questions and their associated sub-questions will consist of the following steps:

A review of primary and secondary literature related to the creation of NATO will establish a framework for understanding the intent and dynamics behind the founding of the organization. This step will additionally look at the series of U.S. and European initiatives and conferences which largely shaped the post-World War II NATO construct. This research will be conducted by means of both printed and electronic primary and secondary sources as well as archival material.

The next step in this study will be a historical review of several key world events that have occurred since the collapse of the Soviet Union in order to establish a clear sense of the current and emerging operating environment. This will be accomplished by a review of both printed and electronic archival media and secondary resource assessments. This step will include comparative analysis of operations in the Balkans, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya in order to gauge NATO's effectiveness and equitable burden sharing since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Finally, this study will review the series of NATO organizational adaptations, mission adjustments, and conference initiatives since the collapse of the Soviet Union to

assess European collective defense capabilities, redundancies, inequities and the importance of the maintenance of affordable, sustainable, and expeditionary military capabilities on the Continent.

Chapter 2 of this study will examine select archival, written and electronic material related to the formation, Cold War achievements, transformation, membership and post- Cold War operational engagements of the Alliance. Chapter 3 will review the post -World War II origins of NATO. Chapter 4 will discuss NATO's birth, its role during the Cold War, and the broad, geo-political changes which have occurred since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Chapter 5 will analyze the divergence of military and political perspectives regarding the use and purpose of NATO throughout its history. It will additionally assess significant post- Cold War operations in which NATO forces participated. Chapter 6 will provide conclusions and recommendations as a product of the study.

Delimitations

This study will establish several delimitations to the scope of this thesis. The origins of military and political alliances in Europe which shaped the genesis of NATO may arguably find their roots in events which precede the birth of the Roman Empire. As such, and in order to maintain a feasible research scope, the study will focus its historical analysis regarding the formation of NATO with defining events during, and immediately following World War II. Further, in an assessment of the viability and effectiveness of NATO as a political and military alliance in the years immediately following the collapse of the Soviet Union, case studies involving non-NATO intervention may be as illuminating as those studies in which NATO did indeed participate. Again, in order to

maintain feasible limits to the scope of this assessment, only those post-Cold War military interventions previously identified will be studied.

Limitations

Few envisioned limitations exist to preclude the completion of this thesis. At the time of this study, however, specific quantifiable data regarding NATO member contributions to operations from Allied Force in the Balkans through Unified Protector in Libya remain classified, unattainable or incomplete.

Summary

This chapter introduced a research problem regarding NATO's origins, historical importance as a stabilizing force in Europe, as well as its global relevancy, responsiveness and burden sharing in the post-Cold War operating environment. It further introduced the question of the historical role, and future participation of the United States and other member nations in NATO. This chapter identified the research question, significance of the study, research methodology, primary, and secondary questions, assumptions, and scope of this thesis. Chapter 2 will review literature and previous analysis related to NATO's formation, Cold War achievements, transformation and membership. It will further review documentation and analysis of key, post-Cold War operational engagements involving the Alliance.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Overview

The purpose of this study is to provide perspective on the value and importance of the Transatlantic Alliance, and on the continuation of U.S. participation in NATO in today's dynamic, 21st Century operating environment. In doing so, the work intends to produce considerations regarding the practicality and efficiency of U.S. participation in NATO, as these factors relate to the prioritization and application of economized U.S. military assets and capabilities in the years ahead. Chapter 1 established the significance of this study, outlining the limitations, delimitations, primary and secondary questions necessary to assess the stated problem. A good deal of available material exists regarding NATO's mission and organizational adaptations over the past two decades. This study aims to further examine the history, adaptation, organizational construct, operational capabilities and demonstrated responsiveness of NATO and its member states, in order to assess the value and practicality of its *status quo* existence. It will also provide an overview of selected primary and secondary literature, archival diplomatic testimony, operational reports of NATO and its member nations in order to develop a breadth of study spanning NATO's origins, through its recent operations, to its forecasted future relevancy. During the process of gathering the information necessary to formulate both a historical baseline and to determine the adaptive measures taken by NATO since the collapse of the Soviet Union, numerous books, essays, electronic media and archived documentation were available for review and analysis. The literature will be addressed in

two general categories: (1) The Creation of NATO, and (2) NATO: Organization, Function and Operations since the Collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Creation of NATO

Until the ratification of the Washington Treaty formalizing its participation in NATO in 1949, the United States had maintained a long standing policy of “non-entanglement” in the formal politics and military alliances of Europe.⁵ Indeed, since the 1880 dissolution of the Franco-American Alliance of 1778, critical to the Continental victory over the British during the American Revolutionary War, the United States had managed to adhere to the dictates of President George Washington’s farewell speech of 1797 in which he warned of the challenges of formalized political and military alliances:

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than those permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another a habitual hatred, or a habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lie hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and

⁵Lawrence S. Kaplan, *The Long Entanglement: NATO’s First Fifty Years* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 1.

infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.⁶

While the United States clearly maintained diplomatic and military ties with its European allies in World Wars I and II, the relationship was defined by Lawrence S. Kaplan in his book, *The Long Entanglement: NATO's First Fifty Years*, as one of

⁶Senate Document No. 106-21, Washington, 2000, *President George Washington's Farewell Speech of 1797*, <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/GPO-CDOC-106sdoc21/pdf/GPO-CDOC-106sdoc21.pdf> (accessed 11 December 2011).

“associate” with regard to politics and “informal collaborator” with regard to its military participation in both wars.⁷ As the United States formalized its partnership with Europe through its membership in NATO, it is ironic that the treaty marking the United States’ departure from its long history of non-participation in European formal alliances would bear Washington’s name.

The primary questions which this study seeks to answer are: “Using a historical assessment of NATO, its origination and functions in the years immediately following World War II, what role has the Transatlantic Alliance played in the European security equilibrium, and in what way has that role changed in the post-Cold War operating environment?” In order to formulate an answer, this study will commence with an exploration of the genesis of NATO, beginning with a review of its history, origins and organizational development in the immediate, tumultuous aftermath of World War II.

There are numerous repositories of primary documentation and illuminating secondary material covering the history, origins and development of NATO in the years following World War II. The Harry S. Truman Library, located in Independence, Missouri maintains a collection containing 107 original documents, totaling 418 pages, which detail the creation of, and United States participation in NATO between 1948 and 1952. Supporting materials include photographs, oral history transcripts, and other documentation summarizing the state of Europe in the immediate aftermath of World War II. This archive provides a comprehensive review of the Truman era debates and assessments of the Soviet threat, the economic, political and military situation in Europe, as well as founding documents related to the formation of NATO. The library also

⁷Kaplan, *The Long Entanglement*, 1.

maintains several collections focused on the Berlin Airlift, Marshall Plan, Greek Civil War, Soviet annexation of Czechoslovakia, and the establishment of the Warsaw Pact; events all directly influencing the nature of NATO's genesis, membership and development. A review of the Truman Library archives presents a clear sense of the highly contentious nature of the debate regarding the U.S. divergence from a long standing policy of "non-entanglement" towards political or military commitments to European alliances. While Kaplan argues that U.S. ratification of the treaty signaled an acceptance of its role as a burgeoning super-power, these archives clearly show the reluctance and deliberate nature with which the U.S. entered its political and military alliance with its Western European allies.

Having just undergone a significant draw-down of its military forces at the close of World War II, as it had previously done at the close of the Civil War and World War I, many lawmakers in the United States, fatigued by nearly four years of conflict in two theaters of war, were arguably wary of further military involvement in European affairs. As the U.S. today prepares to make significant budgetary cuts to its Department of Defense, and in the wake of over ten years of sustained conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan, the question of the practicality of continued U.S. "entanglement" in European military affairs is again at the forefront of national debate regarding the size, prioritization and employment of its armed forces.

The *NATO Strategy Documents*, maintained by the NATO International Staff Central Archives, provide an online collection of material covering the planning and development of NATO's collective defense concepts. Gregory W. Pedlow, Chief Historian, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe argues in his overview of NATO

strategic development titled, *The Evolution of NATO Strategy; 1949-1969*, that “the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington on 4 April, 1949 was the first step in the development of a comprehensive strategy for the new Alliance.”⁸ This collection includes twenty-two original documents covering a period from 1948 through 1969, and provides an overview of the evolution of NATO strategy. These files present the diplomatic correspondence and strategic planning documents related to the series of critical developments which began to unfold during the formation of, and immediately following the creation of NATO. They detail the creation of the Defense Committee (DC), comprised of defense ministers of the member nations; the Military Committee (MC), comprised of representative Chiefs of Staff; and the Standing Committee (SG), “tasked to oversee the military planning process while the military committee was not in session.”⁹ These documents provide insight into the development of the phases of NATO’s strategic planning which shaped the bi-polar, super power operating environment during the Cold War.

The NATO Declassified Primary Sources Archive provides access to 431 collections of declassified primary source documents, photos, films and footage related to the formative years of NATO between 1945 and the 1959. These primary sources include speeches and diplomatic correspondence by British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. Bevin’s 1947 dialogue with U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, and his notable 1948 speech to the British House of Commons, introduced the concept of a “Western

⁸Gregory W. Pedlow, *The Evolution of NATO’s Command Structure, 1949-1969*, <http://www.nato.int/archives/strategy.html> (accessed 11 December 2011).

⁹Ibid.

Alliance, or Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance.”¹⁰ The archives provide further insight into the development of tensions between the victors of World War II in Europe, the onset of the Cold War, signing of the Brussels Pact, development of the Marshall Plan, execution of the Berlin Airlift, and the dynamics of the drafting and signing of NATO’s founding treaty. The Hoover Institution Archive at Stanford University additionally maintains a large collection of seventy-two files detailing the formation of NATO, strategic adaptation, and its subsequent development through the end of the Cold War. These collections include correspondence, memoranda, reports, studies, transcribed minutes of meetings, conference proceedings, bulletins, financial records, and printed matter, relating to NATO and American foreign policy. Among the most notable documents found in the Hoover Archives related to this study are the 1950 Congressional hearings detailing General Dwight D. Eisenhower’s appointment as the North Atlantic Council’s first Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. In these proceedings, General Eisenhower argues for the continued presence of U.S. military forces in Europe until such time as the European economies had stabilized to the degree that they could support their own national defenses. Doctor Kori Schake, former Director for Defense Strategy and Requirements at the National Security Council, Associate Professor of International Security at the United States Military Academy, and a research fellow at Hoover Institution, notes in a June 2011 essay; “As the NATO Alliance transitioned from a political pact to an integrated military command, Eisenhower accepted the need for

¹⁰NATO Declassified Archives, *Introducing Mutual Assistance*, http://www.nato.int/ebookshop/video/declassified/#/en/encyclopedia/the_birth_of_nato/creating_cohesion_in_the_west/introducing_mutual_assistance/ (accessed 20 December 2011).

American troops in Europe to consolidate the West in freedom. However, he always envisioned that need as temporary, existing only until the economies of Western Europe were vibrant enough to afford militaries adequate to the needs of their security.”¹¹ Indeed, by 1955 Eisenhower expressed his own concern about the long-term sustainability of the Alliance, noting to then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that the “NATO experiment had about run its course.”¹²

An ample field of primary and secondary source material was found from which to develop an adequate sense of the complex challenges surrounding the signing of the Washington Treaty in 1949. While these materials paint a first-hand picture of the rapidly deteriorating nature of Soviet and Western European relations in the aftermath of World War II, they likewise highlight the perception of the critical role which the United States would play in maintaining the balance of power in Europe during the opening years of the Cold War. Viewed by NATO’s founding members as essential to its strength and legitimacy, initial U.S. participation in the formal alliance was, nonetheless, viewed by a reluctant American partner as both limited and temporary in nature. While the demise of the Soviet Union signaled the end of the bi-polar, Cold War military threat to Western Europe, the reliance on U.S. military participation in NATO continued well beyond its originally envisioned purpose. It would not be until NATO’s actual application of force, in both combat and peace-keeping operations, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, that the degree of operational imbalance, and divergent military and political priorities

¹¹Kori Schake, *EUCOM’s Future Force Structure*, http://acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/403/071111_ACUS_EUCOMBrief_Schake.PDF (accessed 20 November 2011).

¹²*Ibid.*

among NATO's member states were truly revealed. It was likewise here, in its application, that the potential worth of NATO as a platform for future command, control and collaboration was showcased.

Particularly useful in the development of an understanding of the history and origins of NATO were *Creating the Entangling Alliance; The Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, by Timothy P. Ireland, and *NATO; the Transatlantic Bargain*, by Harlan Cleveland.

NATO: Organization and Function Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Among the most informative and comprehensive books in establishing a sound understanding of NATO as a functioning organization were *NATO; A Beginner's Guide*, by Jennifer Medcalf, and *Permanent Alliance?; NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, by Stanley R. Sloan. These works provides a detailed overview of the Alliance from its origins in the wake of World War II through the numerous adaptive initiatives undertaken throughout the 1990s and first decade of the 21st Century.

Medcalf defines an alliance as being "formal and institutionalized," a characteristic which she states differentiates alliances from coalitions, which are generally more loosely configured military organizations. She states that most alliances develop as a response to a threat, whether real or perceived. Medcalf notably highlights that the disappearance of the threat, for which an alliance was established, has typically signaled its subsequent abandonment. The author notes that the fundamental purpose for the formation of an alliance is the creation of a collective capability which is stronger than that of its individual members. As such, Medcalf argues that NATO indeed initially

met the criteria of an alliance; “It was a formal, highly institutionalized military alliance, and founded as a response to a commonly perceived threat, which it sustained throughout the Cold War by ensuring a high level of alliance cohesion.”¹³ The author’s multi-faceted description of this simple definition is noteworthy in that it highlights NATO as both a text-book alliance in its genesis and function throughout the Cold War, and a hybrid anomaly in its continued existence beyond its originating purpose. Medcalf offers several explanations for the differentiation between NATO and other historical alliances, and in doing so establishes the basis for her assessment that NATO has retained a viable, transatlantic purpose despite the elimination of its original *raison d’etre*. This work provided a solid base-line of organizational information on NATO, and further introduced the series of re-organizational initiatives from the early 1990s through the formative years immediately following the terrorist attacks of 11 September, 2001.

The Central Intelligence Agency Library maintains an archive entitled, *At Cold War’s End: U.S. Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991*. This compilation of CIA assessments catalogues the collapse of the Soviet Union, beginning with an overview of revolutionary activities on the periphery of the Soviet Empire, and culminating with events leading to the reunification of Germany. These primary source documents provide an overview of the pivotal events leading to the demise of NATO’s unifying threat, and set the stage for the development of a dynamic, post-Cold War operating environment.

Untested on the field of battle during the Cold War, NATO’s role as a deterrent arguably proved sufficient to contribute to the prevention of a Soviet attack or invasion of

¹³Medcalf, *NATO, A Beginner’s*, 14.

Western Europe. It would be in the years following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, however, that NATO would see its first operational employment in Europe. Each operation would provide both validation of NATO's continued worth, and deepening questions regarding the validity and relevancy of its continued existence. A review of the significant events influencing the development and adaptations of NATO in the post-Cold War operating context provide numerous primary and secondary sources of information summarizing noteworthy shaping events since the collapse of the Soviet Union. They include:

1. The Collapse of the Soviet Union
2. Annexation of Kuwait by Iraq (Desert Shield/Storm)
3. Balkans Conflict
4. Dissolution of the Warsaw Pact
5. Impact of the European Union
6. The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism and Impacts of 9/11
7. Operations Iraqi Freedom and Enduring Freedom
8. Global Financial Insecurity/Instability of the European Union
9. The Arab Spring/Awakening

From unclassified after-action reports, to NATO's historical archives, much can be assessed from an analysis of the Alliance's participation in several select combat and peace-keeping operations:

1. Desert Shield/Desert Storm
2. Operation Allied Force (Balkans)
3. Operations Iraqi and Enduring Freedom

4. Operation Unified Protector (Libya)

Available information, including that found in the NATO Archives, includes basic, unclassified overviews of member contributions regarding weapons platforms, troop contributions, integration of command and control functions, munitions, and the synchronization of equipment, tactics, techniques and procedures of the various NATO members and partners involved.

Jennifer Medcalf, in her 2008 work titled, *Going Global or Going Nowhere?; NATO's Role in Contemporary International Security*, states that “as well as NATO’s formal defensive role, NATO forces played an important role in Operation Desert Storm. The agreement among NATO members was that the allies should contribute to Desert Storm each in their own way and that NATO itself would provide a forum for close consultation. Twelve of NATO’s then sixteen member nations committed forces to the thirty-six nation strong coalition, with the largest contributions coming from the United States and the United Kingdom. NATO would also play an important ‘virtual role’ in Operation Desert Storm through the use of NATO basing, infrastructure and pre-positioned equipment.”¹⁴ NATO’s role in Desert Storm would provide the first glimpse of the Alliance’s application in the post-Cold War operating environment, and produced indicators of the flexibility and “out of Europe” adaptability and mission re-orientation which may come to define its continued existence. It further provided the first true indicators of the imbalance in technological advancements and operational capabilities among NATO’s member nations. This growing sense of imbalance of military

¹⁴Jennifer Medcalf, *Going Global or Going Nowhere?; NATO and the Management of post-Cold War International Crisis* (Bern, Switzerland: International Academic Publishers, 2008), 52.

capabilities, technologies and national agendas among NATO members would come to a head in the Balkans in the 1990s, and in the years following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, including subsequent military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya.

Chapter 2 Summary

This chapter summarizes the depth and breadth of existing research and documentation related to this study. It reiterates the problem statement and establishes search strings associated with the events which contributed to the establishment, organizational construct, adaptation and application of NATO from its origins to its most recent operations in Libya. Chapter 2 further establishes the availability of primary and secondary source material, including personal testimony, congressional hearings, planning documents, unclassified after-action reports and numerous works detailing and critiquing the creation and adaptation of NATO over the past sixty-three years. These resources, among others, serve as the basis for a balanced, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the problem. Having identified the authoritative work in this field, Chapter 3 will discuss the intricate series of economic, political and diplomatic events that unfolded in the immediate aftermath of World War II which set the stage for the creation of NATO. In doing so, it will lay the foundations for an argument that NATO remains a viable and valuable platform for continued collaboration, cooperation and dialogue in the dynamic, 21st Century operating environment.

CHAPTER 3

THE UNITED STATES AND THE TRANS-ATLANTIC ALLIANCE: ITS ORIGINS AND HISTORY

The glue that has held the allies more or less together is a large, complex and dynamic bargain—partly an understanding among the Europeans, but mostly a deal between them and the United States of America.¹⁵

— Harlan Cleveland,
NATO: The Transatlantic Bargain

Overview

Chapter 1 established the significance of this study, outlining the limitations, delimitations, primary and secondary questions necessary to assess the stated problem. Chapter 2 summarized the depth and breadth of existing research and documentation related to this study. It reiterated the problem statement and established search strings associated with the events which contributed to the establishment, organizational construct, adaptation and application of NATO from its origins to its most recent operations in Libya. Chapter 2 further established the availability of primary and secondary source material, including personal testimony, congressional hearings, planning documents, operational reports and numerous works detailing and critiquing the creation and adaptation of NATO over the past sixty-three years. Chapter 3 will discuss the intricate series of economic, political and diplomatic events that unfolded in the immediate aftermath of World War II which set the stage for the creation of NATO. In doing so, it will lay the foundations for an argument that many of the geo-political,

¹⁵Harlan Cleveland, *NATO: The Transatlantic Bargain* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 5.

ideological and economic circumstances which ultimately led to U.S. participation in European security remain present and applicable, to varying degrees, in 21st Century Europe. It will further provide the historical base line for an argument that NATO's worth as a mature, recognized forum for collaboration, cooperation and dialogue among "like minded" allies is, in and of itself, vital to the interests of both the United States and Europe in the years ahead.

European Security and Stability

From the earliest stages of post-war reconstruction in Europe, it quickly became apparent that two primary protagonists, the United States and Soviet Union, had emerged in the aftermath of the world's most destructive war to date. With the economies of Europe in disarray, its societal infrastructure shattered, and political instability rampant throughout the Continent, the geo-political environment in which the Transatlantic Alliance was developed was rife with fears of influence and domination by a growing Communist threat, consumed with internal struggles for a restoration of respective national relevancy on the world stage, and transfixed with an ever present paranoia of a resurgent Germany.

In this tumultuous post-war arena, the United States found itself a reluctant but essential participant in the revitalization of economic infrastructure, and re-establishment of security and stability in Western Europe. It would become a formal participant in the Transatlantic Alliance following the vehement persistence of its European allies that American economic and military assistance was of vital necessity to the recovery and long term security of the Continent. In doing so, the United States would gradually begin to acknowledge its post-war status as a global power.

Accepting its role with a reluctant wariness that formal entanglement in European security and stability could lead to an open ended commitment of U.S. forces and funding, Congressional approval for entrance into a formal alliance in 1949, nonetheless, envisioned the scope of American support to be fully matched by the contributions of its European allies. This requirement would be reiterated time and time again throughout NATO's sixty-three year history. As economic instability today fuels fears of a partial collapse of the European Union, a centuries' old rhythm of European nation state antagonisms and fears is again resurfacing. Despite the growing sense of interconnectivity, interdependency and transparency which the European Union has helped to generate, the collective memory of 20th Century conflict and its impacts remain, bitterly engrained in the memories of its inhabitants.

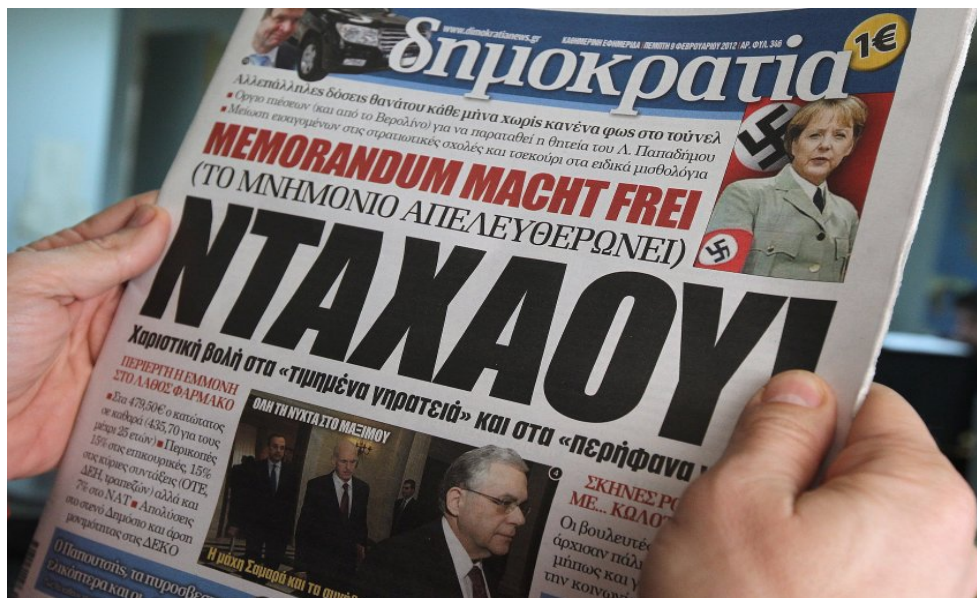


Figure 1. Greek Media Reaction to German Austerity Demands

Source: Der Spiegel On Line, <http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/fotostrecke-78449-2.html> (accessed 7 January 2012).

William R. Keylor, in his work, *The Twentieth Century World; An International History*, summarized that as the forces of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union converged on the Elbe River in the heart of Nazi Germany in April of 1945, the euphoria inspired by victory in a long and bitterly fought war with Hitler's Third Reich temporarily overshadowed the ominous political undercurrents which had begun to surface during tripartite meetings between the Allied forces.¹⁶ At Casablanca in February 1943, discussions between Roosevelt and Churchill had focused on the unconditional surrender of Germany's military machine, while avoiding any definitive dialogue on the management of a post-war occupied Germany. Again at the Tehran Conference held in November and December of 1943, further uncertainty regarding post-war partitioning and the management of the German economy surfaced. Discussions at Yalta in February of 1945 took on an additional degree of ambiguity as Stalin added Soviet desires for the application of harsh reparations to the uncertainty of the occupation of post-war Germany.¹⁷ What was certain, even before Germany's surrender in May of 1945, was the looming contentiousness over the management of a defeated Third Reich, its people and institutions. It would not be long before the divergent interests of the occupying allied forces came to a head.

The scope of World War II, the magnitude of the loss of life, and the immense devastation which occurred from 1939 through 1945 were on a scale unmatched in history.

¹⁶William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World; An International History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford Press, 1992), 261.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

Table 1. World War II Deaths by Nation

Country	Military	Civilian	Total
USSR	12 million	17 million	29 million
Poland	597,000	5.86 million	6.27 million
Germany	3.25 million	2.44 million	5.69 million
Yugoslavia	305,000	1.35 million	1.66 million
Romania	450,000	465,000	915,000
Hungary	200,000	600,000	800,000
France	245,000	350,000	595,000
Italy	380,000	153,000	533,000
Great Britain	403,000	92,700	495,000
United States	407,000	6,000	413,000
Czechoslovakia	7,000	315,000	322,000
Holland	13,700	236,000	249,000
Greece	19,000	140,000	159,000
Belgium	76,000	23,000	99,000

Source: World War II Statistics, <http://www.angelfire.com/ct/ww2europe/stats.html> (accessed 7 January 2012).

Table 2. World War I and II Death Distribution

War	Military Dead	Civilian Dead
World War 1	95%	5%
World War 2	33%	67%

Source: World War II Statistics, <http://www.angelfire.com/ct/ww2europe/stats.html> (accessed 7 January 2012).

When “Victory in Europe” (VE Day) was declared by Allied forces on 8 May 1945 large regions of Europe lay in ruins. The nature of post-war relations between the victorious allies rested largely in the planning, agreement and implementation of policy regarding the reconstruction of Europe and disposition of occupied Germany. Despite

declarations of unity and shared interest in the defeat of Germany, disagreement over Germany's occupation and administration arose almost immediately after the Third Reich's capitulation. Keylor noted that foremost among the challenges was the collapse or elimination of all forms of local political authority and military power in central Europe as Hitler's Germany succumbed to Allied advances from the east and west.¹⁸

"The unprecedented brutality of the Nazi occupation of Europe had inspired in the victorious coalition, the determination to rid the Continent once and for all of the scourge of German power. The war against Hitler had assumed the character of a moral crusade against a monstrous evil that had to be subdued and then permanently eliminated for the benefit of humanity."¹⁹ Keylor further argued that President Roosevelt initially made no distinction between the Nazi regime and the people of Germany which it had governed. As such, U.S. policies toward Germany reflected a belief that the German historical proclivity of aggression toward its neighbors during the past seventy-five years could not be permitted to reoccur.²⁰

The elimination of existing Nazi military and administrative functions in Germany created a vacuum which would subsequently be filled by the military powers of the convergent Allied armies in the summer of 1945. An informal partition of post-war Europe into "Western" and "Soviet" areas of influence, developed at Yalta and agreed upon at Potsdam, was therefore directly reflective of the location of occupying forces at

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

the time of Germany's capitulation.²¹ While the overall management of post-war Germany was envisioned by the United States as encompassing a single economic unit, each of the respective occupational zones gradually assumed the political infrastructure, as well as economic and foreign policies of their occupying nations. Despite the presence of influential Communist movements throughout Western and Southern Europe, many of which had significantly contributed to the defeat of German occupational forces in their respective countries, France, Belgium, Greece, and Italy each eventually reestablished Western-style governmental systems and capitalist economies while conforming their foreign policies to the British-American vision of post-war Europe. Eastern European nations, despite nationalistic and ideological resistance to Communism and abhorrence to Russian occupation, were compelled to adopt Soviet political and economic models, ultimately subordinating themselves to Moscow's foreign policy goals.²²

²¹Ibid., 262.

²²Ibid.



Figure 2. Occupied Zones of Germany; 1945-1948

Source: Security Service MI5 On Line, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/bad-nenndorf-page-2.html> (accessed 27 November 2011).

The Soviet Union, having suffered over 29 million of its citizens killed and enormous damage to its economic infrastructure during the conduct of the war, sought recuperative reparations, and protectively began to establish a buffer zone against the prospect of any future Western military forays into its territory. With the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and portions of Finland, Poland, Romania, north eastern Germany and eastern Czechoslovakia completed during the war as a bi-product of their

route of German forces on the Eastern Front, the Soviet Union further expanded its sphere of influence by compelling Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany, the Balkans and Czechoslovakia to fall under Soviet influence after the war.²³

In a March, 1946 speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered his famous “Iron Curtain” warning:

From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe – Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia. From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength and nothing for which they have less respect than military weakness.²⁴

According to Keylor, “the establishment of Russian hegemony over the reconstituted states of Eastern Europe from 1945 through 1948 was accomplished with impunity because the only nation capable of preventing it, the United States, had largely disengaged militarily from the European continent.”²⁵ At the time of Germany's capitulation, the United States' fielded a military totaling over 12 million people. As a result of the end of universal conscription and a concurrent reduction in its force, the size of the U.S. military had rapidly been reduced to less than 1.4 million by the end of 1947. While America's armed forces and supporting military industrial complex quickly demobilized at the end of World War II, the Soviet Union retained a force of over four

²³Ibid.

²⁴Winston Churchill, “Sinews of Peace” (the *Iron Curtain Speech*, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946, <http://www.historyguide.org/europe/churchill.html> (accessed 2 February 2012)).

²⁵Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World*, 262.

million combat veterans, and largely retained the juggernaut of military weaponry with which it had secured Berlin in 1945.²⁶

Table 3. Post–World War II Forces in Europe

	1945	1946
U.S.	3,100,000	391,000
U.K.	1,321,000	488,000
USSR	12,000,000	4,100,000

Source: William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World; An International History*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford Press, 1992), 262.

As noted by Timothy Ireland in his work, *Creating the Entangling Alliance; the Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization*; “Throughout World War II, the common goal of defeating Nazi Germany cemented the tenuous ‘Grand Alliance’ of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom.”²⁷ In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the question of how to administer a defeated Germany remained at the forefront of the Allied debate. The divergence of national interests, and amplification of ideological differences, long suppressed in the mutual effort to defeat Hitler’s Germany, quickly began to re-emerge in the aftermath of World War II. In the midst of this growing bi-polar struggle, several momentous economic and political influences would shape the nature of the Cold War, reluctantly drawing the United States into both formal economic

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Timothy P. Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance, The Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 11.

and security pacts with its Western European allies, and providing the genesis of a transatlantic political and military alliance which would become NATO.

Stanley R. Sloan in his work, *Permanent Alliance?; NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, summarized that as World War II came to a close in Europe in the spring of 1945, President Roosevelt remained convinced that the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations following World War I had significantly contributed to the rise of the Nazi Regime in Germany.²⁸ Insistent that the United States would play a significant role in the post-war reconstruction effort, but ambiguous as to what that would entail, his death on April 12th 1945, and the defeat of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill by Clement R. Attlee immediately after the war, placed the responsibility of reconstruction and post-war affairs in the hands of political successors in both nations.²⁹ With the death of President Roosevelt less than a month before Germany's surrender, the personal relationship which had enabled the "Grand Alliance" between the Soviet and American leaders during World War II was essentially lost. Furthermore, U.S. policy toward the management of a post-war Germany remained unresolved. Within the United States, debate regarding the management of post-war Germany had focused on the nature of policy towards Germany itself: a question of harsh reparations or reunification and reconstruction? Ireland noted that two distinct camps had arisen on the matter.

²⁸Stanley R. Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2010), 16.

²⁹Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 12-13.

The State Department had argued that the rise of the Nazi Party could be directly attributed to the harsh terms which the 1919 Versailles Treaty had imposed on Germany. The Treasury Department, on the other hand, believing Germany to be an “inherently aggressive nation” argued that the only means of ensuring a subdued Germany in the future was to eliminate its industrial complex.³⁰ The “Morgenthau Plans” developed by Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, credited the rise of Nazism to the leniency of the Versailles peace at the conclusion of World War I.³¹ He further advocated the “total dismantling of the Third Reich’s remaining heavy industry and the transformation of Germany into a country primarily agricultural and pastoral in nature.”³²

In the latter stages of World War II in Europe, the U.S. War Department remained focused on the defeat of the German military machine. While the U.S. military dedicated significant effort to its preparation for the occupation of Germany, it had paid little interest to the post-war economic management of Germany itself. With a continued dual focus on the continuing fighting in the Pacific, President Truman entered a critical juncture of the debate without a clearly defined U.S. policy regarding the post-war management of Germany, and without the benefit of a personal relationship with, or intimate understanding of the victorious allies. When Truman, Stalin and Attlee met at Potsdam in July of 1945 to discuss the nature of the occupation of a defeated Germany, critical consensus regarding Allied coordination of the occupation zones, the restoration f

³⁰Ibid., 12-13.

³¹Ibid.

³²Frederick H. Gareau, “Morgenthau’s Plan for Industrial Disarmament in Germany,” *The Western Political Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1961): 18.

German industry, as well as agreement on the standard of living for the German people, partition, and reparations had yet to be resolved.³³

The French Equation

While the French were nominally a victor at the conclusion of World War II, they had suffered a humiliating defeat in 1940, had endured a brutal five year occupation by German forces, and emerged from the conflict with a fragile and fragmented political system. Eager to restore their place of power on the European Continent as a “bulwark of democracy,” and likewise eager to placate the fragile French political apparatus which had emerged, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed at Yalta to grant the French a zone of occupation in occupied Germany.³⁴

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, French historical anxiety regarding the potential impacts of a U.S. withdrawal from the European Continent, similar to that which occurred following World War I, would quickly resurface. The desire to both restore French power, re-establish its military capabilities, placate its fragile political system, and assuage its fears of a resurgent German threat would substantially influence the nature of the development of the Transatlantic Alliance in the years ahead. Indeed, this tenuous diplomatic relationship, arguably greater than any other, would shape the nature and scope of U.S. participation in NATO throughout the Cold War and beyond.

³³Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 14.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 16.

The Long Telegram

In 1946, George Kennan, a U.S. diplomat and specialist on Soviet affairs, produced a series of telegrams known collectively as the “Long Telegram.”³⁵ Written to President Truman and relaying his assessment of Soviet intentions in post-war Europe, these dispatches described a growing sense of confrontation between the Soviet Union and Western powers. His writing described the Soviets as “presenting a predictable pattern of behavior based on a merger of traditional Russian security requirements and the foreign policy dogma inspired by Soviet Communism.”³⁶ Despite Kennan’s later reflections that he felt the likelihood of Soviet military action against Western Europe to have been minimal, his “Long Telegram” arguably shaped the formulation of U.S. foreign policy in post-war Europe, and provided the genesis for U.S. participation in both the European Recovery Plan and Transatlantic Alliance. In his telegram, Kennan argued that, “gauged against the Western World as a whole, the Soviets are still by far the weaker force. Thus, their success will really depend on a degree of cohesion, firmness and vigor which the Western World can muster. And this is the factor which it is with in our power to influence.”³⁷

While the massive draw down of U.S. military forces in 1946 rang strikingly familiar to the demobilization of forces at the end of World War I, American acceptance of its participation in the newly established United Nations, and concern regarding the

³⁵U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, vol. 6, *Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, 696-697.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 700.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 707.

specter of Soviet expansion in post-war Europe foretold of a new chapter in American foreign policy in which it would accept, though reluctantly, its critical role as a post-war, world power. Several key events would lay the ground work for the formalization of American “entanglement” in European security.

Greece and Turkey

In February of 1947, the British government announced that, in light of its domestic economic challenges and a re-prioritization of its colonial holdings, it could no longer maintain its post-war military presence in Greece or Turkey.³⁸ In a State Department *Background Memorandum on Greece* dated 3 March, 1947 Greece was described as “prostrate and demoralized” in the wake of its German occupation during much of World War II.³⁹ Greek Communist guerilla groups, initially formed to harass and resist Axis forces, threatened the democratic prospects of an emergent Greek nation at war’s end. Unable to economically maintain its post-war forces there, and elsewhere throughout the eastern Mediterranean rim, the British announcement of a withdrawal in the midst of a sustained Communist insurgency signaled the commencement of U.S. aid to pro-democratic forces in Greece. The Greek government called upon the United States for direct and immediate economic assistance.⁴⁰ The genesis of both an enormous U.S.

³⁸Truman Library; J. M. Jones Files; 3 March, 1947 *Background Memorandum on Greece*, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1947-03-03&documentid=6-11&pagenumber=1 (accessed 10 January 2012).

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

economic aid package, and subsequent ideological commitment to the post-war recovery and security of Western Europe itself would ensue.

Truman Doctrine

In an address before a Joint Session of the House and Senate on 12 March, 1947 President Truman, while calling for immediate assistance to Greece and Turkey, described the importance of his administration's intention to "support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures."⁴¹ He further described the growing ideological differences between free, democratic nations and those of Communist influence as a "choice between two alternate ways of life."⁴² This address, identifying what he believed to be a U.S. obligation to "create conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a life free of coercion,"⁴³ introduced the tenets of what would become known as the "Truman Doctrine."

Representing a sharp departure from the isolationist tendencies of the United States following World War I, Truman stated:

To insure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national

⁴¹Truman Library, 80th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives Document No. 171, Recommendation For Assistance to Greece and Turkey (Address of the President of the United States Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Senate and the House of Representatives, Recommending Assistance to Greece and Turkey, March 24th, 1947), http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf#zoom=100 (accessed 18 January 2012).

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

integrity against aggressive movements that seem to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct and indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.⁴⁴

Believing the sustainment of viable, democratic governments in Greece and Turkey to be of vital importance to the protection of the Mediterranean, Suez Canal, and greater Middle East region, the United States provided assistance to each between 1947 and 1951 totaling over 932 million dollars.⁴⁵ In doing so, it established the framework for the implementation of a much broader economic recovery plan, the European Recovery Program or “Marshall Plan.”

The Marshall Plan

Despite the critical importance of the question of the management of post-war Germany, and its subsequent influence on the shaping of the United States’ commitment to the recovery of Western Europe, this study has argued that as Germany capitulated, the victorious Allies had developed no fully agreed upon, clearly defined or well developed economic policy for Germany. While the United States had initially intended to collaborate with its World War II allies in the administration of Germany as an “economic unit,” economic stabilization was viewed by many in the “West” as a means to both restore stability to the Continent politically, and provide a counter balance to the perception of a growing Soviet threat to Western Europe. Paramount to the restoration of economic stability was the question of Germany’s role in this process.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Marshall Plan Expenditures, <http://www.dsusd.k12.ca.us/users/scottsh/The%20Marshall%20Plan.htm> (accessed 10 October 2011).

The German economy was viewed by the United States as essential to the economic recovery of post-war Western Europe as a whole. It was argued that recovery could not fully develop until the manpower and industrial resources of a defeated Germany could be utilized. That recovery, however, had to occur with associated assurances that the restoration and integration of German industrial capacity and manpower could occur without again threatening the security of Western Europe. Just days after President Truman's doctrinal address, Great Britain and France ratified the Treaty of Dunkirk, pledging mutual support to each other in the event of future German aggression.⁴⁶ Reflecting engrained historical fears and the emergence in Western Europe of a recognition of the importance of U.S. involvement in a developing post-war "containment" policy, the seeds of the Cold War and genesis of NATO had begun to germinate.

⁴⁶Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 17.



Figure 3. Marshall Plan Political Cartoon; 1948

Source: For European Recovery: The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Marshall Plan, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/images/bearwtext.jpg> (accessed 7 December, 2011).

Recognizing the immensity of these diplomatic challenges, and with a sense of both a stalled economic recovery in Western Europe, and a burgeoning threat of the spread of Communism in both Eastern and Western Europe, the Truman administration began to shape a foreign policy strategy which focused on thwarting the threat of Communist expansion, while integrating the economies of the occupied western zones of Germany, controlled by the British, French and Americans, into a larger end-state of European, post-war recovery.

On 5 June 1947 in a commencement speech at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall presented the elements of his proposed “Economic Cooperation Act,” calling for American assistance in restoring economic stability to post-war Europe.⁴⁷ His speech was largely shaped by information provided by two memorandums written by Will Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, who had recently returned from a fact finding mission in Europe.⁴⁸

As summarized by Ireland, Clayton noted that the United States had significantly underestimated the destruction to the European economy caused by World War II.⁴⁹ He additionally highlighted the critical nature of the problem as it influenced the United States; “The political situation merely reflected the deteriorating economic situation in Europe.”⁵⁰ Clayton stressed that without immediate and substantial American aid, the economic, political and social fabric of Europe would disintegrate. He further noted the negative impacts which this would have on the U.S. economy, introducing the idea of a European economic federation in order to facilitate recovery.⁵¹ “Britain was fast losing the reins of world leadership, and either the United States or the Soviet Union would soon pick up those reins.”⁵² Clayton felt that, “if the Soviets assumed world leadership, there

⁴⁷The Marshall Plan, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/marshall_plan/ (accessed 2 February 2012).

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 36.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., 30.

would be a war within ten years, with the odds against the United States. The only hope was for the United States to assume a leadership role, but he felt that it would not do so unless the American people were shocked into such action.”⁵³ Ireland further noted that Clayton was particularly concerned about the threat posed by Communist-inspired internal subversion. He highlighted the desperate situation in Greece and Turkey and stated that, “if they succumbed, the whole Middle East would fall, Communists would likely take over in France, and all of Western Europe and North Africa would follow in France’s wake.”⁵⁴

President Truman introduced the European recovery package to Congress in December of 1947, and subsequent Senate hearings commenced on 8 January, 1948. During these hearings, Secretary of State Marshall expressed his concerns that Western Europe could not recover from the effects of World War II without immediate U.S. economic assistance. Amplifying the gravity of the situation, Marshall warned that if the United States failed to support Europe with sufficient economic aid, then “the basis of Western civilization would fall to a new form of tyranny.”⁵⁵ Calling upon the fresh sentiments of sacrifice during World War II, he further argued that should the United States not provide “effective aid to support the now visible reviving hope of Europe, the vacuum created by World War II would be filled by the forces of which wars are made.”⁵⁶ According to Marshall, this would seriously threaten the security of the United

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

States and its allies. He concluded his comments by stating that “economic recovery was the basis of Europe’s ‘political vitality’ and that lasting peace required the restoration of that vitality.”⁵⁷

Several Senators expressed their misgivings about the ramifications of such an American commitment. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, an early dissenter in American participation in the League of Nations following World War I, stated that while he felt conflicted about the implications of the Truman Doctrine, “it seems to me those are the horns of the dilemma we are on, and to me it is not a hard decision to make. I think we have to go along with the policy.”⁵⁸ Senator Walter George of Georgia expressed similar sentiment and concerns regarding the implications of future entanglement when he stated that he would support proposed aid to Greece and Turkey, but remained concerned that once the United States committed to this obligation, the United Nations would consider this an American problem and assume the position that, “the United States has taken this burden. Let them carry it. And they will let it run, and that will be the situation, and we will have it on our hands.”⁵⁹

Enacted into law by the Eightieth Congress on 6 January, 1948 the European Recovery Program (ERP), or “Marshall Plan,” was developed as a means to “promote world peace and the general welfare, national interest and foreign policy of the United

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸United States Senate, 80th Congress, 1st Session on S. 983, Hearings Held in the Executive Session Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, 141, <http://archive.org/stream/legislativeorigi00unit#page/40/mode/2up> (accessed 10 March 2012).

⁵⁹Ibid., 198.

States through economic, financial and other measures necessary to the maintenance of conditions abroad in which free institutions may survive, and consistent with the strength and stability of the United States.”⁶⁰

Table 4. Marshall Plan Expenditures

Economic Assistance, 3 April 1948 to 30 June 1952 (in millions of dollars)			
COUNTRY	Total	Grants	Loans
Total for all countries	\$13,325.8	\$11,820.7	\$1,505.1
Austria	677.8	677.8	--
Belgium-Luxembourg	559.3	491.3	68.0
Denmark	273.0	239.7	33.3
France	2,713.6	2,488.0	225.6
Germany, Federal Republic of	1,390.6	1,173.7	216.9
Greece	706.7	706.7	--
Iceland	29.3	24.0	5.3
Ireland	147.5	19.3	128.2
Italy (including Trieste)	1,508.8	1,413.2	95.6
Netherlands (*East Indies) ^c	1,083.5	916.8	166.7
Norway	255.3	216.1	39.2
Portugal	51.2	15.1	36.1
Sweden	107.3	86.9	20.4
Turkey	225.1	140.1	85.0
United Kingdom	3,189.8	2,805.0	384.8
Regional	407.0	407.0	--

Source: The Marshall Plan, <http://www.dsusd.k12.ca.us/users/scottsh/The%20Marshall%20Plan.htm> (accessed 10 October 2011).

Presented without the ideological tenor of President Truman’s doctrinal address of 12 March, 1947 participation in the ERP was open to all of Europe, to include the Soviets. While Marshall’s speech provided a general compass heading, it included no specific solutions to the issues facing Western Europe.

⁶⁰The European Recovery Program, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc_large_image.php?flash=true&doc=82 (accessed 19 March 2012).

As described by Harry Bayard Price in his work, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning*, Tripartite talks between British, French and Soviet diplomats in Paris in June of 1947 regarding implementation of the economic plan quickly collapsed as the Soviet delegation relayed its distrust that, “the proposals being developed were designed to promote intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.”⁶¹ French delegates again expressed their long standing security concerns regarding German integration and the potential implications of the contemplated formation of an economically viable, unified West Germany as bi-products of the plan.

Failure of the London Council of Foreign Ministers

On 25 November, 1947 representatives from the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union met in London to discuss the future of Germany and management of post-war Europe.⁶² This 1947, “London Council of Foreign Ministers,” foretold of the impassable nature of ideological differences between Western and Soviet representatives regarding the future of Germany, at this time divided and occupied by forces of each of the participating nations. While the Foreign Ministers of each of the Allied nations would formally meet again, it became clear to all sides involved that agreement regarding the governance of occupied Germany as an economic unit, under the direction of the Allied Control Council in Berlin, was unattainable. Shortly thereafter, the

⁶¹Harry Bayard Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1955), 27.

⁶²*Failure of the London Council of Foreign Ministers*, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/london-council-of-foreign-ministers-meeting-begins> (accessed 1 February 2012).

Soviet delegation ceased its formal participation as a member of the Allied Control Council.⁶³

Following the failure of the 1947 London Council, and with both uncertainty regarding the development of Soviet occupied Eastern Germany, and continued French concerns regarding a resurgent German threat, British Foreign Secretary Bevin proposed the development of a plan detailing the establishment of a “Western Union.”⁶⁴ Critical to the success of Bevin’s proposals would be the economic and military weight provided by the participation of the United States.

As described by Ireland, Bevin’s “Western Union” proposal, presented before the British House of Commons on 22 January 1948 would serve to both appease French security concerns regarding the threat of German *revanchism*, and establish the ground work for a wider transatlantic collective security arrangement against the prospect of Soviet or German aggression.⁶⁵ Secretary Bevin then began an active courting of Secretary Marshall to garner U.S. support and participation. Over the course of the next two years, several formative factors would shape the participants, objectives and obligations of the Transatlantic Alliance which would eventually become NATO.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 16.

⁶⁵Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 63.

The Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self Defense

The concept of a transatlantic, European defensive alliance of “like-minded nations within the framework of the United Nations” had initially been introduced during Winston Churchill’s 1946 “Iron Curtain” speech in Fulton, Missouri.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles, their strength will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however, they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.⁶⁶

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly in September of 1947, the concept was again expressed by Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Louis S. St. Laurent, when he called upon “peace loving nations to seek greater safety in the association of democratic and peace loving states, willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security.”⁶⁷

On 4 March, 1948 delegates from Great Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands met in Brussels to begin deliberation on the construct of the “Western Alliance of Mutual Security Assistance.”⁶⁸ On that day, French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bidault, seizing on the momentum of the Brussels Treaty,

⁶⁶Churchill, *Sinews of Peace*.

⁶⁷NATO Archives, *Origins of the North Atlantic Treaty, The Morrow of Victory*, <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/1.htm> (accessed 20 February 2012).

⁶⁸Lord Ismay, NATO Secretary General, “The First five years 1949-1954,” <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/1.htm#f> (accessed 17 January 2012).

reinforced Secretary Bevin's dispatches to Secretary Marshall with an additional request for U.S. participation in the proposed alliance. "The moment has come to strengthen on the political level and, as soon as possible, on the military level, the collaboration of the old and the new world, both so closely united in their attachment to the only civilization which counts."⁶⁹ Secretary Bidault went on to express that "France, with Great Britain, was determined to do everything in her power to organize a common defense of the democratic countries of Europe."⁷⁰ He further stressed the critical importance of U.S. participation in this arrangement.

Received with guarded reluctance regarding the willingness of the Congress to accept formalized U.S. participation in a European Security arrangement, State Department representative John D. Hickerson noted, "it seems that any adequate regional defense system for the Western European countries should envisage defensive measures to be taken in the event of aggression or attack from any source, even if one member of the group should attack another member."⁷¹ He stressed to his British counterparts that, "if no regional organization could be complete without the United States, and if the proposed organization was clearly associated with the Charter of the United Nations, the United States would consider 'association' with such grouping and would give it

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 64.

sympathetic consideration.”⁷² He further stressed, however, that he believed that a reluctant U.S. Congress would need to see such initiatives originate from Europe.⁷³

Sensing a growing concern over the development of a Soviet negotiated mutual defense pact with Norway, Secretary Marshall stated that, “the countries of Western Europe must show what they are prepared to do for themselves and for each other before asking for further American assistance.”⁷⁴

Following the Soviet withdrawal from tripartite talks in Paris on 2 July, 1947 British and French delegates summoned the representatives of twenty-two other European nations to discuss participation in the European Recovery Program.⁷⁵ With the Soviet pressured withdrawal of all Eastern European delegates from participation, the scope of the debate then shifted to the support of remaining Western and Southern European nations. Those prospective participants, hoping to benefit from inclusion in the Marshall Plan, then created the Interim Committee on European Economic Cooperation (CEEC) in order to assess the “resources, capabilities, expectations and needs of the participating countries and to formulate the guiding principles for a recovery program.”⁷⁶ Again, the management of Germany, and placation of French fears of German *revanchism* became the focal points of deliberation.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., 65.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 48.

⁷⁶Harry B. Price, *The Marshall Plan and its Meaning* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1955), 37.

Concerned about the prospects of a U.S. and British sponsored revitalization and centralization of the industrial capacity of the Western zones of occupied Germany, and the subsequent implications of these actions on the tenuous political balance in France, French Foreign Minister Bidault expressed his concerns. The issue of the unification of the West German zones of occupation would “re-open the question of France’s internal equilibrium” pitting the ousted, but increasingly militant Communist Party, and that of the seated French government.⁷⁷ Ireland highlights a report by Foreign Service Officer Jefferson Caffery, in which he describes French officials as deeply concerned about the effects which Communist propaganda was having against the French government. Specifically, he noted their concern that Communists were enjoying their greatest political gains by implying that the United States was protecting its own interests by focusing on the rehabilitation of Germany rather than the security and rehabilitation of France.⁷⁸ Ireland additionally notes that, although French leaders generally supported the integration of German industrial capabilities in support of an overarching European recovery plan, they requested that no further discussion regarding German rehabilitation be announced until planning for the implementation of the Marshall Plan was complete, at which time the discussion of the establishment of a centralized, revitalized West German industrial capacity within the “bi-zonal” areas governed by the United States, France and Great Britain could be incorporated.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 52.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

Following months of intricate diplomatic maneuvering between U.S., British and French diplomats regarding German “bi-zonal” economic integration, interim military and economic aid to France, and the assurances of the development of an overarching security agreement to satisfy French concerns, plans for the creation of a “Western Union” were developed which would initially satisfy Marshall’s call for a European initiative to collective recovery and defense, and momentarily placate concerns regarding German resurgence.

On 17 March 1948 The Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self Defense was ratified and included representatives of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.⁸⁰ This treaty signaled the first formalized development and acceptance of Western European cooperation regarding an initial framework for a post-war, Western European economic and security alliance. The treaty pledged its members to participate in a “joint defensive system as well as to strengthen their economic and cultural ties. The supreme body of the Brussels Treaty Organization was to be the Consultative Council, consisting of the five Foreign Ministers.”⁸¹ A military body, the Western Union Defense Organization, was formed under the chairmanship of British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery. Article IV of the Treaty stated that, “should any of the Parties be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the others would afford the attacked Party all the other aid and assistance in their

⁸⁰Ismay, “The First five years 1949-1954.”

⁸¹NATO, “Signature of the Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defense,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-9190CD40-048C7023/natolive/news_17044.htm (accessed 23 February 2012).

power.”⁸² The pact was to endure for fifty years.⁸³ On 17 March 1948; the day of the signing of the Brussels Treaty, President Truman told the members of Congress, “I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them.”⁸⁴

Chapter 3 Summary

This chapter summarizes the origins and history of U.S. “entanglement” in the European economic and security equilibrium in the immediate aftermath of World War II. It provides an important understanding of the complex and tenuous political and economic situation on the European Continent in first three years following the defeat of Hitler’s Germany, the reluctant and contentious nature of U.S. involvement in post-war recovery and stability, and the genesis of its more formalized alliance participation following the implementation of the European Recovery Program, or Marshall Act. Having established a basic understanding of the formative economic, military and diplomatic events which shaped both post-war Europe, and indeed the bi-polar world of the Cold War, chapter 4 will discuss the formation of NATO and its developing scope and mission during the Cold War. It will further detail the significant events which shaped the capabilities and perspectives of its participants throughout the Cold War and beyond.

⁸²“The Brussels Treaty, 17 March 1948,” <http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3/en;jsessionid=0805E890D9923FA2BBF32D1568A5AF35> (accessed 18 January 2012).

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ismay, “The First five years 1949-1954.”

CHAPTER 4

FROM THE BRUSSELS PACT TO NATO, THE TRANSATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS BORN

Overview

Chapter 1 established the significance of this study, outlining the limitations, delimitations, primary and secondary questions necessary to assess the stated problem. Chapter 2 summarized the depth and breadth of existing research and documentation related to this study. It reiterated the problem statement and established search strings associated with the events which contributed to the establishment, organizational construct, adaptation and application of NATO from its origins to its most recent operations in Libya. Chapter 2 further established the availability of primary and secondary source material, including personal testimony, congressional hearings, planning documents, operational reports and numerous works detailing and critiquing the creation and adaptation of NATO over the past sixty-three years. Chapter 3 reviewed the intricate series of economic, political and diplomatic events which unfolded in the immediate aftermath of World War II and contributed substantially to the formation of a trans-Atlantic alliance. In doing so, it established the foundations for an argument that U.S. participation in European security matters provided for both an immediate establishment of a balance to Soviet power in Europe, and long term economic and political stabilization of Western Europe itself. It further provided the foundations for an argument that NATO remains a viable and valuable platform for continued collaboration, cooperation and dialogue in the dynamic, 21st Century operating environment. Chapter 4

will discuss the formation of NATO, and its organizational developments during the opening decade of the Cold War.

The European Initiative

The failure of the 1947 London Council of Foreign Ministers to agree upon a four-power solution for the management of post war Germany, and the subsequent recognition of the impassable nature of ideological differences between the Soviets and their American, British and French counter-parts regarding European recovery, arguably drew the United States closer to formalized participation in a long term commitment to Western European security. The United States continued to insist that incorporation of the military and industrial capacities of the Western zones of occupied Germany into a greater framework of European recovery was essential to a long term security policy. As such, American diplomats pressed for the merging of French, British and American zones of occupied Germany into a single economic region. Seeking to avoid limitless commitments of U.S. military and economic resources to the recovery effort, and with historical reminders of the financial burden which the United States assumed in the aftermath of World War I, the consolidation and restoration of West German industrial capacity and manpower was viewed as critical to enabling long term European self-reliance and defense beyond that fueled by the Marshall Plan. Implied was a belief that the fear of Soviet encroachment into Western Europe outweighed U.S. concerns of a resurgent German threat as a result of Germany's inclusion in this plan. Following a series of intricate diplomatic concessions with the French, the Brussels Pact initially delivered the needed European cooperation and initiative necessary to appease U.S. concerns of a long term commitment to Europe, and provided indicators of a European

willingness to contribute equitably to the burden of the defense and recovery of Western Europe itself. With added urgency injected as a result of Soviet overtures in Norway, and the alarming developments which resulted from the February 1948, Soviet sponsored coup in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the United States began deliberation on its formal participation in European security, “in response to a complex set of issues embracing both the Cold War and the German question.”⁸⁵ As summarized by Ireland, while the United States had hoped to prevent a long term military and economic commitment to Europe by including the industrial might and resources of West Germany in the Marshall Plan, its concessions to enable the consolidation of occupational zones in West Germany; notably the indefinite retention of U.S. occupational forces in West Germany, in fact, arguably drew it closer to the long term commitments it had hoped to avoid.⁸⁶ On 30 April, 1948 representatives of the five Brussels Treaty nations met in London to assess their collective military capabilities with respect to their treaty obligations. With an immediate acknowledgement that the combined capabilities of the five signatories would prove insufficient to successfully thwart a Soviet incursion into Western Europe should it occur, U.S. and Canadian inclusion during subsequent meetings commenced in July of 1948 in a “non-member status.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 75.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷Ismay, “The First five years 1949-1954.”

The Vandenberg Resolution

On 11 April, 1948 Secretary of State Marshall and Under-Secretary Robert M. Lovett began exploratory talks with Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg and Tom Connally on a number of perceived security problems inherent to the North Atlantic area.⁸⁸ On 28 April, 1948, the proposal of a collective security arrangement, including and superseding the Brussels Treaty system, was presented by Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr. St. Laurent in the Canadian House of Commons.⁸⁹ Concurrently, Senator Vandenberg prepared, in consultation with the State Department, a resolution which detailed “the association of the United States by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security; and the United States contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under Article 51 (of the United Nations Charter) should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.”⁹⁰

On 11 June, 1948, Resolution 239—commonly referred to as the “Vandenberg Resolution—was passed by the United States Senate by 64 votes to 4,⁹¹ establishing the frame work for further U.S. inclusion in European security: Whereas peace with justice

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ronald E. Powaski, *Toward an Entangling Alliance; American Isolationism, Internationalism, and Europe, 1901-1950* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 207.

and the defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms require international cooperation through more effective use of the United Nations: Therefore be it:

Resolved, That the Senate reaffirm the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest, and that the President be advised of the sense of the Senate that this Government, by constitutional process, should particularly pursue the following objectives within the United Nations Charter:

Voluntary agreement to remove the veto from all questions involving pacific settlements of international disputes and situations, and from the admission of new members.

Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles, and provisions of the Charter.

Association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.

Maximum efforts to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as provided by the Charter, and to obtain agreement among member nations upon universal regulation and reduction of armaments under adequate and dependable guaranty against violation.

If necessary, after adequate effort toward strengthening the United Nations, review of the Charter at an appropriate time by a General Conference called under article 109 or by the General Assembly.⁹²

Interest in the implementation of the resolution was further infused by the Soviet implemented blockade of Berlin in late June of 1948.⁹³ While this resolution provided the

⁹²Vandenberg Resolution, <http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/dc0ca210-8f4c-43e0-b353-1793b42c6d5c/en> (accessed 22 February 2012).

⁹³Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 18.

political leverage necessary to draw the French closer to a tentative agreement on the economic consolidation of the Western occupational zones of Germany, it was, nonetheless viewed as insufficient to placate historical fears of an uncertain U.S. commitment to long-term European Security. Indeed, the memories of U.S. abandonment of the League of Nations, and adoption of a policy of isolationism during the inter-war years weighed heavily on Western European minds. A greater U.S. commitment was desired by the Western Europeans, and the political frame-work and impetus for the United States to enter a more formalized Transatlantic Alliance now existed.

As summarized by Ireland, George Kennan, whose long telegram largely shaped President Truman's containment policy had, to date, been largely opposed to a formalized treaty of U.S. inclusion in European security. The weight of European interest in formal U.S. involvement, however, swayed his opinion. Indeed, while he viewed the Soviet threat to Western Europe as largely political, he nonetheless felt that the formalization of U.S. participation in a security alliance would provide greater political leverage through its inherent unity. In a 24 May, 1948 memorandum to Secretary of State Marshall, Kennan stated that in light of formal petitions from Great Britain and France, the United States "should be very careful not to place itself in the position of being an obstacle to further progress toward the political union of the Western democracies."⁹⁴ He felt that the United States "should attempt to establish all facts bearing on the effort of opening the question of a North Atlantic Security Pact in order to keep the ball rolling and keep up the hopes of the peoples of Europe."⁹⁵ Critical to "keeping the ball rolling" was the

⁹⁴Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 95.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

ability of U.S. diplomats to persuade their Western European counter-parts that the American commitment to their defense, both against the Soviets, and notably for the French, against a resurgent Germany, could be guaranteed. It became apparent that something more definitive than the Vandenberg resolution was going to be required to pacify Western European fears.

From the French perspective, agreement to participate in the Brussels Pact was believed to have been sufficient to garner the formal participation of the United States into a broadened, formalized transatlantic security arrangement. In their opinion, each of the signatories has placed much at stake in agreeing to the Brussels Pact, and as such, the U.S. now had an obligation, beyond the implied ambiguity of the Vandenberg Resolution, to commit to both short term and long term support of its Western European allies.⁹⁶

Ireland further states that, while the continued commitment of U.S. occupational troops in Germany provided a temporary solution to the threat of German *revanchism*, and further ensured the likelihood of U.S. participation in the defense of Western Europe should the Soviet's advance through Germany, the Brussels signatories wanted something more concrete from the United States. Indeed, the French feared that the United States would, at some point, withdraw its troops from Germany without regard to the greater implications to European security. They sought both immediate, short term aid in the way of military supplies, and longer term, formalized commitments of military support in the event of an attack.⁹⁷

⁹⁶Ibid., 102.

⁹⁷Ibid.

The Washington Exploratory Talks on Security

The “Washington Exploratory Talks on Security” began in July of 1948 in order to discuss the nature of a possible U.S. commitment to European security.⁹⁸ As presented by Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett, the implementation of any treaty or military aid program would have to be based on the Vandenberg Resolution, and would require appropriate Congressional approval. Additionally, the degree of military assistance by the United States to the collective cause of European defense would be dependent upon the assessment of the Brussels Powers as to their military capabilities and requirements, and on the prior development of an effective defense organization. Finally, because of the nature of the separation of powers inherent to the U.S. Constitution, any formal alliance between United States and its European allies would have to reflect the tenets of the Rio Pact, which precluded the automatic use of a military response in case of armed attack until Congress approved.⁹⁹

The Rio Pact, formally known as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, was the first of several regional “containment” pacts signed by the United States at the commencement of the Cold War. Signed in 1947, and enabled under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the Rio Pact introduced the principle that an attack against one was to be considered an attack against all. A two-thirds majority vote of its

⁹⁸Lawrence S. Kaplan, *NATO 1948; The Birth of the Transatlantic Alliance* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 51.

⁹⁹Foreign Relations of the United States, *Minutes of the First Meeting of the Washington Exploratory Talks on Security*, vol 3, 1948, 149-151, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=header&id=FRUS.FRUS1947v03> (accessed 10 March 2012).

members was required to determine the nature of collective action which might be taken against an aggressor.¹⁰⁰

In September of 1948, the Washington Exploratory Talks Commission assessed that, while it was unlikely that the Soviets would mount an attack on Western Europe, it did indicate the possibility of a “miscalculation” that could lead to escalation. It noted that the continued presence of U.S. troops in Germany provided a basic assurance to its European allies that the United States would be drawn into any such escalation should it arise, but additionally assessed that, “something more is needed to counteract the fear of the peoples of Western Europe that their countries might be overrun by the Soviet Army before help could arrive.”¹⁰¹ Its conclusion was that the United States should ultimately consider its participation in a transatlantic security system that included the signatories of the Brussels Pact, as well as Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal and Ireland.¹⁰² The Washington Exploratory Talks on Security opened the door to U.S. participation in a formalized Transatlantic Treaty, but differences between the United States and its Western European allies remained.

While the United States explored means of accommodating European concerns regarding both short and long term security issues, differences persisted regarding the nature of that support. Among the greatest points of contention was the constitutional process of commitment of U.S. forces to combat. While European allies desired a

¹⁰⁰The Rio Pact, <http://www.answers.com/topic/inter-american-treaty-of-reciprocal-assistance> (accessed 10 March 2012).

¹⁰¹Foreign Relations of the United States, 239.

¹⁰²Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 104.

commitment of immediate military assistance in the event of an armed attack, the United States insisted that treaty implementation take place according to a due “constitutional process,” and without an automatic commitment of U.S. forces to combat operations. Additionally, the Vandenberg Resolution’s provisions calling for “self-help and mutual aid” meant that American assistance must supplement, not replace European efforts.¹⁰³ Following the release of the Washington Exploratory Talks findings, the Brussels Pact signatories responded by creating the “Military Organization of the Brussels Powers,” and on 29 October, 1948 requested a starting date by which the United States would be willing to begin negotiations on a North Atlantic Treaty in Washington.¹⁰⁴

Following the 1948 re-election of President Truman and retirement of Secretary Marshall in January of 1949, Dean Acheson assumed the duties of Secretary of State.¹⁰⁵ Acheson shared the view that Germany was critical to the revitalization of economic stability and security in Western Europe, but further envisioned a longer term American commitment to European security in general. America’s participation in two world wars provided the U.S. historical perspective on proclivity towards intervention in European security. Furthermore, regardless of the existence of a Soviet threat, Acheson believed that the United States had a vested interest in preventing further conflict between France and Germany, and in stabilizing the European economy. He viewed the formalization of the North Atlantic Treaty as a means to quell French concerns, and as a mechanism to garner the collective support necessary to defend Western Europe against further Soviet

¹⁰³Ibid., 105.

¹⁰⁴Foreign Relations of the United States, 270.

¹⁰⁵Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 109.

encroachment.¹⁰⁶ A draft proposal of the treaty was presented to the House and Senate on 24 December, 1949.¹⁰⁷ Disagreement quickly arose over the implications of the proposed use of force as described in Article V. As proposed, Article V consisted of elements of both the Rio Pact and Brussels Pact, providing that if any member of the Alliance was attacked, then that attack would be considered an attack on all members. Each member would take “such military or other action, individually and in concert with the other parties, as may be necessary to restore and assure the security of the North Atlantic Area.”¹⁰⁸ Ireland noted that, as proposed, the automatic commitment of military action by the treaty’s members was viewed as unconstitutional, and circumvented the requirement for Congressional approval for commitment of U.S. forces to combat.¹⁰⁹ The wording of Article V was subsequently heavily debated in the United States throughout the spring of 1949. To the increasing agitation of European allies, numerous modifications to the draft were proposed, incorporating less constrained verbiage, and including provisions to accommodate respective constitutional processes.

From March of 1948 through the spring of 1949, the Transatlantic Alliance moved from a contested debate regarding the economic management of Germany, through implementation of the Marshall Plan and the development of a European based, Brussels Pact; to the genesis of formal American participation in the Vandenberg Resolution; and finally, to a compromised draft proposal of a North Atlantic Treaty.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 110.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

Throughout, the United States and its European allies approached the development with differing agendas.

The United States sought to unify and incorporate the industrial might and capacity of West Germany as a key element of Western European recovery, stability and security. Its own self interests in producing eventual European self-reliance were certainly driving factors behind this policy. The Western Europeans, on the other hand, sought concrete assurances of both a short term commitment of American military supplies, and a long term commitment to respond to security threats. It became clear to Secretary Acheson that the enabler to the pacification of these concerns and achievement of West German integration into a long term stabilizing solution was the formalization of the North Atlantic Treaty. Key to its approval would be bi-partisan House and Senate approval. The constitutional process of Congressional approval for the use of force, therefore, shaped the verbiage of the final draft treaty which provided for this flexibility.

The Washington Treaty, signed on 4 April, 1949 thus reflected “a compromise between European desires for explicit U.S. commitments to provide military assistance to prospective NATO allies, and an American desire, strongly expressed in Congress, for more general, less specific assistance provisions.”¹¹⁰

The ratification of the Washington Treaty, formalizing the Transatlantic Alliance, had established a long sought commitment by the United States to the defense of Western Europe. European allies had, in turn, agreed to organize themselves to enable both a collective defense, and economic stabilization by means of a substantial and expectant

¹¹⁰Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 18.

self-revitalization organization as developed in Brussels. As American journalist, Marquis Childs, would write in June of 1949, “most of us were aware in one degree or another, that this was a final farewell to what had been and what could never be again. The illusion that we could live alone behind a barrier of oceans was at last being shed.”¹¹¹ Two matters remained largely unresolved; the first was the nature of the U.S. commitment, and the second was a determination and shaping of Germany’s role in the Alliance. Again, a divergence of perspective arose on both sides of the Atlantic.

As summarized by Ireland, the French remained in general opposition to the re-arming of Germany for any purpose, and vehemently opposed the formation of the Federal State of West Germany for the purposes of inclusion into a proposed military body of the North Atlantic Treaty. The United States, on the other hand, believing West German re-armament and economic restoration to be key elements to the re-establishment of the power equilibrium on the European Continent, envisioned containment of that capability by their inclusion in the treaty framework itself. Furthermore, the United States initially viewed their own military contribution to the collective defense of Western Europe as one largely consisting of provision of resources and equipment, strategic bombing and control of the seas. The French remained insistent on a substantial deployment of U.S. ground forces in Germany as an insurance policy against both German *revanchism* and Soviet incursion. An unlikely event, well beyond the regional scope of NATO’s collective European defense, would tip the balance in favor of a continued and substantive U.S. force presence in Europe for decades to come.

¹¹¹Ireland, *Creating the Tangling Alliance*, 146.

North Korean Invasion of South Korea Tips the Balance

On 25 June 1950, North Korean forces invaded South Korea.¹¹² After nearly a year of contentious debate in the United States regarding the nature of the U.S. military commitment to Europe, the North Korean advance into South Korea triggered fears of a world-wide Communist threat to democratic nations and ideals. While Great Britain remained engaged in its “Four Powers” obligations, contributing substantially to the post-war occupation of Germany, its withdrawal from Greece and growing internal economic challenges largely divested its focus from European Continental security matters. French forces, increasingly tied to colonial holdings in Indochina and North Africa, argued that a substantial commitment of U.S. combat forces was vital to the defense of Western Europe. On 9 September 1950 President Truman marked a significant shift in American policy towards Europe by announcing his decision to deploy U.S. combat forces to Europe:

On the basis of the recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, concurred in by the Secretaries of State and Defense, I have today approved substantial increases in the strength of the United States forces to be stationed in Western Europe in the interest of the defense of that area. The extent of these increases and the timing thereof will be worked out in close coordination with our North Atlantic Treaty partners. A basic element in the implementation of the decision is the degree to which our friends match our action in this regard. Firm programs for the development of their forces will be expected to keep full step with the dispatch of additional United States forces to Europe. Our plans are based on the sincere expectation that our efforts will be met with similar action on their part.¹¹³

¹¹²Ismay, “The First five years 1949-1954.”

¹¹³Truman Library, “Statement by the President Upon Approving an Increase in U.S. Forces in Western Europe,” 242, <http://trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/viewpapers.php?pid=871> (accessed 27 March 2012).

In order to make the commitment of U.S. forces palatable to Congress, President Truman acknowledged that French opposition to German re-armament would have to be resolved. The French, aware that the United States was now largely willing to provide the combat troops which they had long sought, recognized the need to develop a compromise on the matter.

The Pleven Plan

On 24 October 1950, the French National Assembly approved the “Pleven Plan.”¹¹⁴ Named after French Premier Rene` Plevin, this plan proposed the creation of a “European Defense Community,” (EDC) or European based army in which a limited representation of German units would participate. Following considerable negotiations, agreement was reached to provide for the eventual formation of a “European Defense Force” (EDF), incorporating the existing Western Union Defense organization, and further establishing a Supreme Headquarters with an expectation that an American Officer would be appointed as its Supreme Commander. Consisting of France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the newly established Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), it was intended to operate within the framework of the NATO treaty. Negotiations for the EDC continued with the full support of the United States.¹¹⁵

On 4 April 1951, the Senate approved General Eisenhower’s appointment as Supreme Commander, and further approved the deployment of four U.S. divisions to

¹¹⁴Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 24.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 29.

Europe.¹¹⁶ It did so, however, with a requirement that the Joint Chiefs of Staff certify that, “the European allies were making a realistic effort on behalf of European defense, that the European allies should make a major contribution to allied ground forces, and that provisions should be made to utilize the military resources of Italy, West Germany and Spain.”¹¹⁷

Lisbon Goals for Self-Reliance and Failure to Ratify the EDC

In February of 1952, following months of negotiations regarding NATO’s future organization, force posture and the development of the EDC, NATO Foreign, Defense and Finance Ministers met in Lisbon, Portugal to formalize these discussions.¹¹⁸ Among the most notable products of this conference were the development of an organizational construct, giving body to the North Atlantic Treaty, and a stated determination of force goals.

Force goals set NATO’s initial standards for what it determined were the minimum conventional requirements to defend Western Europe against a Soviet conventional attack. These goals initially included intentions to build to a force of forty-two operational divisions and an additional forty-five reserve divisions by 1954.¹¹⁹ NATO ministers each agreed to significant respective contributions to the air, land and naval components of the integrated military command structure. Committees were

¹¹⁶Ibid., 25.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 27.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

established, including a Defense Committee, responsible for developing and coordinating defense plans, and a subordinate Military Committee, whose executive agency was the Standing Group. The Military Committee was established to provide strategic guidance to five Regional Planning Groups responsible of military planning and operations covering five specific areas: Northern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Europe-Western Mediterranean, Canada-United States, and the North Atlantic Ocean. NATO military plans were discussed to include defense policy, strategy, standardization of arms and procedures, integration of training methods, as well as pooling of transportation and other logistic resources.¹²⁰ Despite its optimistic beginnings, it would not be long after the 1952 Lisbon Conference before the first indicators of NATO's ensuing six decade debate on burden sharing would begin to surface.

As NATO entered its first truly operational year in 1953, prospective members of the still un-ratified EDC subsequently and unilaterally decided to reduce forecasted force goals to thirty operational divisions and thirty-six reserve divisions.¹²¹ The French argued that their forces were heavily engaged in Indochina, and British interests lay committed to domestic recovery, and to their own dwindling colonial holdings outside of Europe. As Sloan summarized, rumors throughout some European media outlets blamed the proposed cutbacks on U.S. intentions to scale back their own participation in light of a general sense that the Soviet threat was receding in Europe. European cutbacks were further fueled by a sense that the United States was unambiguously viewing both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons as their new centerpiece, or "New Look" regarding

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid., 30.

Western Defense. As U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles would state, nuclear weapons “must now be treated as in fact having become conventional.”¹²² NATO was indeed facing its first test of viability.

Sloan noted that the U.S. State Department responded to media rumors of an American withdrawal of support with a cable to the French and British embassies criticizing them for unilaterally agreeing to a reduction in force levels. It additionally warned each embassy that facilitation of blame on the United States for these cutbacks required their attention. In order to counter those claims, the cable highlighted the fact that U.S. defense expenditures were in fact four times that of all of the other NATO members combined. It further warned that it sensed no decrease in the Soviet threat which would warrant a decrease in force goals.¹²³ As early as the spring of 1953, the newly elected Eisenhower administration began to acknowledge that European contributions to NATO defensive capabilities were increasingly inadequate. Seeking a means to relieve the United States of some portion of its continued commitment to European defense burdens, it viewed ratification of the EDC, and closer cooperation among its European members as critical to begin consideration for the re-deployment of U.S. troops out of the Western zones of Germany. The year 1953 would pass without any of the EDC signatories ratifying the creation of a European Army. As concern grew in the United States, President Eisenhower argued that ratification of the EDC was of paramount concern to his policies in Europe. Without it, the U.S. could not take “any

¹²²Ibid., 35.

¹²³Ibid., 32.

steps toward re-deployment, or even talk about re-deployment of troops in Europe to the United States until these objectives have been reached.”¹²⁴

In France, a newly elected government under the leadership of Pierre Mendes-France began to re-examine the purpose of the EDC itself. Throughout the first six months of 1954, the United States continually provided reassurances to its European allies that the ratification of the EDC would not lessen the U.S. commitment to European security.¹²⁵ Anxiety among European allies nonetheless persisted. While it remained concerned about the German threat, the French became increasingly skeptical of the purpose of the EDC in light of the employment of the U.S. nuclear deterrent. The French perception of the Soviet threat had likewise lessened. According to a report by the U.S. embassy in Paris in 1954, they assessed that the French “fear of Russia was less in 1953, when it was less than in 1952 and much less in 1951 and 1950. Correspondingly, there existed, perhaps not only in France, a greater fear of some future action or reaction on the part of the U.S. which might lead to war; and in the specific case of the EDC, a greater fear that the U.S. might in some way back the irredentist aspirations of Germany in a manner detrimental to French security interests.”¹²⁶ The French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in May of 1954, and the subsequent expulsion from their colonial holdings in Indochina would arguably provide the final blow to hopes of EDC ratification.

As the French were departing their formal colonial holdings in Indochina, the United States was concurrently entering the region under the auspice of the newly created

¹²⁴Ibid., 33.

¹²⁵Ibid., 35.

¹²⁶Ibid., 36.

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).¹²⁷ Sloan noted that the failure of the United States to materially aid the French in this conflict, and further outrage as a result of the Eisenhower administration's impeding of French and British action during the Suez conflict of 1956, created a sense of betrayal which would influence French antagonisms toward NATO for the remainder of the Cold War and beyond.

In August of 1954, following a series of proposed compromises to the EDC treaty itself, the French government voted against ratification of the very treaty which it had proposed some two years earlier.¹²⁸ Viewed as a means to an end to reintegrate the economic and military might of the Federal Republic of Germany into the defense of Western Europe, the failure to ratify the EDC triggered a rapid response from the United States regarding West German sovereignty and inclusion.

Expressing his regret that France had rejected its own proposals regarding ratification of the EDC, Secretary of State Dulles stated:

The Western nations now owe it to the Federal Republic of Germany to do quickly all that lies in their power to restore sovereignty to that Republic and to enable it to contribute to international peace and security. The existing Treaty to restore sovereignty is by its terms contingent upon the coming into force of the EDC. It would be unconscionable if the failure to realize EDC through no fault of Germany should now be used as an excuse for penalizing Germany. The Federal German Republic should take its place as a free and equal member of the society of nations. That was the purport of the resolution which the United States Senate adopted, and the United States will act accordingly.¹²⁹

Following months of negotiations, the "Nine Power and Four Power Conferences" held in London from 28 September through 3 October, 1954 produced a

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid., 37.

¹²⁹Ibid., 38.

solution on the fate of the Federal Republic of Germany.¹³⁰ The “Four Powers” included representatives from the U.S., Great Britain, France and West Germany. The “Nine Powers” representatives additionally included Belgium, Canada, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.¹³¹ At these combined conferences, it was agreed upon that the formal occupation of West Germany would end, to be replaced by a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) which would retain foreign forces at levels similar to those of the existing occupational forces. It was additionally agreed that West Germany would join NATO, and that Italy and West Germany would join the Western Union, now known as the Western European Union, (WEU).¹³² Germany’s military capabilities would be monitored by the Western European Union, and the United States committed itself, in turn, to retain conventional forces in Europe indefinitely. NATO had expanded, and the United States had achieved the long sought inclusion of West Germany into the economic and military revitalization of Western Europe. The failure of the ratification of the EDC, however, left concurrence on force goals and cost sharing unresolved. Until deemed no longer necessary at the end of the Cold War, NATO never achieved the goals set at Lisbon. Indeed, as Sloan summarized, “the failure of European members of NATO to build up their conventional military forces to balance those of the Warsaw Pact created a burden sharing issue that, in one way or another, dominated congressional consideration of the U.S. role in NATO throughout the Cold War.”¹³³

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid., 28.

Divergent National Interests

Disagreements between France and the United States, which highlighted both the formal inclusion of the United States in NATO, and shaped its development in the years following the ratification of the Washington Treaty, would continue beyond the Lisbon Summit of 1952. Indeed, they would come to a head in 1966 as a DeGaulle led France would formally withdraw from Military Committee membership and demand the removal of NATO's Headquarters and forces from its territory. While this could have triggered the collapse of the Transatlantic Alliance, it arguably furthered the U.S. commitment to Western European security, and as a bi-product, strengthened West Germany, the heart of French concerns for so many years. NATO would undergo numerous changes throughout the Cold War years, adding four additional members to its collective numbers, and in the end, ultimately contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The "Harmel Report" of 1967, which proposed adaptive changes within NATO focusing on both deterrence and détente, demonstrated the resilience and adaptability of the organization in light of changing geo-political factors. It additionally showcased the divergence of perspective on NATO's purpose and application between the United States and its European allies. Throughout, a common theme remained; as European Imperial powers gradually withdrew from their respective colonial holdings throughout the globe, in turn focusing on the restoration of regional economic and political stability on the European Continent following the destruction of World War II, the United States gradually filled the growing Third World vacuum as a means of preventing Soviet influence in these regions. Indeed, while Europe's global influence was receding, the United States conversely filled these global gaps to prevent Soviet encroachment and protect Western political and economic

interests. Continued calls for increased European burden sharing would echo throughout the Cold War. General Eisenhower's testimony to Congress in 1950 highlighted the need for the retention of U.S. troops and equipment in Europe until the allies were able to effectively build their own forces. By 1955, he argued that the "NATO experiment had largely run its course."¹³⁴ In the 1960s, President Kennedy sought a greater European contribution to the defense of Western Europe calling for "twin pillars" in the Transatlantic Alliance and seeking the shared burden of defense between the United States and a united Western Europe.¹³⁵ Arrangements in subsequent administrations would begin to see the futility of this desire, instead seeking compensation from European allies for the basing of U.S. forces throughout Europe. Congressional calls for equitable burden sharing in the late 1960s and 70s rang notably similar to those being echoed today.

On 31 August 1966 Senator Mike Mansfield introduced the first of his "Mansfield Resolutions," calling for a reduction of U.S forces in Europe due to the noted improvements in the economic and military capabilities of the European allies since the U.S. troop introductions of the early 1950s.¹³⁶ The Mansfield Resolutions declared that, "with changes and improvements in the techniques of modern warfare, and because of the vast increase in the capacity of the United States to wage war and to move military forces

¹³⁴Kori Schake, *EUCOM's Future Force Structure*, http://acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/403/071111_ACUS_EUCOMBrief_Schake.PDF (accessed 20 November 2011).

¹³⁵Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 85.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

and equipment by air, a substantial reduction of the United States forces permanently stationed in Europe can be made without adversely affecting either our resolve or ability to meet our commitment under the North Atlantic Treaty.”¹³⁷ Mansfield would further argue regarding the lack of European participation in their collective defense that, “such contributions have not been forthcoming from all other members. The present policy of maintaining large contingents of United States forces and their dependents on the European Continent also contributes further to the fiscal and monetary problems of the United States.”¹³⁸ Re-introduced unsuccessfully in 1967, 1969, and 1970,¹³⁹ Senator Mansfield’s comments could easily have been taken from today’s headlines regarding the United States’ commitment to European defense.

The United States formally but reluctantly entered the Transatlantic Alliance with an assurance that its European allies would join equally in the burden of defense. Disagreements and divergences of national interests and priorities ultimately precluded fulfillment of European obligations in this regard. As the Cold War burned through the 1980s, the European Continent arguably remained the focal point of this bi-polar struggle. As such, America’s nuclear and conventional commitment to the deterrence of Soviet aggression would provide the necessary military credibility to European defense, while simultaneously enabling NATO’s European allies to forgo the full extent of their own commitments. Indeed, it can be argued that as the Cold War progressed, Europeans

¹³⁷Senate Resolution 292, 1 December 1969, quoted in James Edmond Schwartz, “Senator Michael J. Mansfield and United States Military Disengagement from Europe” (Ph.D. diss., 1977), 466.

¹³⁸Ibid., 86.

¹³⁹Ibid.

increasingly viewed the contest as one between super powers, and less one of their own security interests or choosing. The commencement of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 brought with it the expectation of a peace dividend to Europeans, eager for a new and hopeful unity on the Continent. The post-Cold War scene, however, would quickly reveal the fragility of the world which emerged in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Over the next two decades, the geo-political landscape would be significantly altered. The rise of new nation states, emergence of others long held in the grips of the Soviet Union, and the collapse of mechanisms, long held together by the weight of bi-polar, Cold War dynamics quickly gave way to new security challenges. These challenges would again call into question the continued existence of NATO..

Chapter 4 Summary

This chapter summarized the contentious nature of congressional debates, and concurrent diplomatic parrying between the United States and its European allies which largely shaped the formation of NATO and its organizational developments during the Cold War. It provided an important understanding of the complex and tenuous economic and political situation on the European continent, and further highlighted the reluctant nature of U.S. involvement in post-war recovery and stability in Europe. Having established a basic understanding of the formative economic, military and diplomatic events which both shaped post-war Europe, and ultimately led to the formation of NATO, Chapter 4 further established a comparative assessment of the geo-political factors which drew the United States into participation in European security. Chapter 5 will briefly discuss the evolution of NATO in the two decades following the end of the Cold War,

and will provide an overview of NATO participation in several post-Cold War operations.

CHAPTER 5

THE UNITED STATES, EUROPE AND NATO; POST-COLD WAR

Overview

Chapter 1 established the significance of this study, outlining the limitations, delimitations, primary and secondary questions necessary to assess the stated problem. Chapter 2 summarized the depth and breadth of existing research and documentation related to this study. It reiterated the problem statement and established search strings associated with the events which contributed to the establishment, organizational construct, adaptation and application of NATO from its origins to its most recent operations in Libya. Chapter 2 further established the availability of primary and secondary source material, including personal testimony, congressional hearings, planning documents, operational reports and numerous works detailing and critiquing the creation and adaptation of NATO over the past sixty-three years. Chapter 3 reviewed the intricate series of economic, political and diplomatic events which unfolded in the immediate aftermath of World War II and contributed substantially to the formation of a Transatlantic Alliance. In doing so, it established the foundations for an argument that U.S. participation in European security matters provided for both an immediate establishment of a balance to Soviet power in Europe, and long term economic and political stabilization of Western Europe itself. It further provided the foundations for an argument that NATO remains a viable and valuable platform for continued collaboration, cooperation and dialogue in the dynamic, 21st century operating environment. Chapter 4 discussed the formation of NATO and its organizational developments during the opening decade of the Cold War. Chapter 5 will summarize the evolution of NATO in the

two decades following the Cold War, provide an overview of NATO participation in several post-Cold War NATO operations, and most notably offer historical considerations as to the nature of capabilities imbalances which exist between the United States and its European allies.

More Than a Deterrent to Soviet Aggression

The preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty states that the signatories shall be “determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilizations of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law.”¹⁴⁰ Indeed, much more than a deterrent to Soviet aggression, NATO was created as an alliance of nations with shared culture, values and goals; one which arguably bound them historically and informally in ways that existed before and beyond the formal dictates of the treaty itself. Members were charged to “contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being.”¹⁴¹ While the elements of the preamble had direct applicability to the restoration of economic and political stability in the tumultuous years following World War II, they likewise provided the impetus for NATO’s continued existence, expansion and partnership efforts in the years following the Cold War.

¹⁴⁰NATO, *The North Atlantic Treaty*, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm (accessed 12 September 2011).

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

The collapse of the Soviet Union, dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and momentous political changes which occurred throughout Eastern Europe in the wake of the Cold War brought rapid and remarkable changes to the geo-political landscape of the European Continent. Many quickly called into question the need for the continued existence of NATO, and both American and European Departments of Defense reflected sharp budget cuts as a result of the “peace dividend” throughout the 1990s. Indeed, the Cold War had been brought to a victorious conclusion for NATO and its members without a conventional shot having been fired on the European Continent. Had its origins solely been a matter of deterrence against a perceived Soviet threat, the argument to disband NATO would likely have met little resistance. The next two decades, however, would see the development of a tumultuous, post-Cold War world in which the sustainment of NATO’s ideals would witness both its expansion, and operational employment of its forces. In doing so, the operational imbalances, so long tempered by the bi-polar operating environment of the Cold War, would be fully revealed. The exercising of its capabilities would, however, additionally demonstrate NATO’s worth as a seasoned, albeit imperfect vehicle for interoperability, planning and command and control which would, to varying degrees, facilitate coalition operations in the two decades which would follow. These operations would again bring to the forefront, transatlantic disagreement and frustrations regarding the military construct and limitations of many of NATO’s European members. They would correspondingly highlight the continued importance of the U.S. role in NATO operations, both within and outside of the regional boundaries of Europe.

In each of the late 20th and early 21st Century operations in which NATO was either actually or virtually employed, capabilities inequities amplified calls from the American side of the Transatlantic Alliance for improvements. To help gain an understanding as to why many of NATO's European members habitually fell short of their contributory commitments, both during and after the Cold War, it may be useful to look at the perspectives of its members regarding their roles and obligations.

Historical Perspectives

Many American proponents of a greater European contribution have argued that Western Europe's close proximity to Russia, and its own historical lessons, should have garnered a greater degree of interest in defense related matters. Such critics have often disparaged the perceived European deference to America's willingness to provide for Western security. While elements of this criticism arguably hold some validity, it is important to consider the geographic and historic implications of location in relation to the Transatlantic Alliance. The United States has twice militarily interceded in the affairs of the European Continent to contribute to victories in two World Wars. It further significantly contributed to the outcome of conflict and peace keeping operations in the Balkans in the 1990s. In each case of intervention, and indeed throughout the decades of force presence in Europe, one constant has remained: the fighting, subsequent devastation to population centers, economies and indeed nation states remained largely concentrated on the battlefields of Europe. While the United States suffered significant combat losses in each of the World Wars, its homeland, economy and general way of life were not only spared the destructive impacts of total war experienced in Europe and the Pacific, but arguably flourished as a result. The European perspective, with the notable exception of

the British, conversely reflected the direct, cataclysmic impacts of each conflict on its own soil. While Great Britain certainly endured its share of significant casualties, and indeed suffered destruction on its own soil to a degree, it was never occupied, and largely emerged from each conflict intact. Great Britain and its Commonwealth nations have notably been among the United States' most willing and contributory allies in 21st Century conflicts to date. While the Continental European interest in deterrence of both a Soviet invasion and German *revanchism* held legitimate concern and attention, their priorities, and indeed abilities, initially lay in a preference for economic recovery, *détente*, deterrence and diplomacy rather than investment in offensive or expeditionary military capabilities. This study has argued that within ten years following the end of World War II, many of NATO's European members were insistent upon America's continued engagement in the security and economic recovery of the Continent; likewise, they were eager to capitalize on perceptions of thawing tensions and a diminishing threat from the Soviet Union. Western European priorities were further rationalized by diminishing colonial holdings world wide, and by the nuclear shield which the United States, and later Great Britain and France would provide to their defense. With a sense of stalemate in the latter stages of the Cold War, this European deference to priorities other than defense would prevail well beyond the collapse of the Soviet Union. American critics have often referred to the unwillingness or hesitancy of NATO's European allies to fully contribute to their own defense as one of appeasement, freeloading or ungratefulness. Europeans, however, might argue that their perspective was, to a degree, rather one of compromise and survival based on their own tragic experiences of the 20th Century. Indeed, the proposed "front lines" of an operationalized Cold War would

certainly have seen the clash of conventional forces occur on European soil. While a case could be made for the overlap and validity with both perspectives, European ability, willingness and requirement to remain in step with the United States regarding the development of their armed forces largely proceeded with differing priorities and perspectives. As a result, they subsequently produced greatly divergent capabilities. As noted by Sloan when referencing a 1981 New York Times article, “nobody in Europe, West or East, imagines that war means only fighting overseas. For all Europeans, the question of war is the question of survival, not just superiority.”¹⁴² The significant surge of anti-war and anti-American sentiment which arose in parts of Western Europe as early as the 1950s, and which came to a head in the contentious build up to Operation Iraqi freedom, reflects this divergence of perspective.

¹⁴²Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 77.



Figure 4. German Anti-War Protest at Campbell Barracks; Heidelberg, Germany March, 2003.

Source: *Stars and Stripes*, <http://www.stripes.com/news/protesters-try-to-encircle-usareur-headquarters-1.2518/comments-7.2823> (accessed 28 March 2012).

Super Power Requirements

When the United States emerged from the Cold War as the world's lone super power, it had amassed an associated military arsenal with a global reach and advanced technological capabilities commensurate with its world-wide engagement strategy. The immediate post-Cold War American military reflected the sustained investment and development of a force which was designed to execute both a large conventional air and land battle in Europe, project forces globally to resist further Soviet encroachment, and fight simultaneously in two major theaters of conflict. Its naval and strategic lift capabilities were of a size and reach necessary to support these multi-faceted

requirements. Despite sizable Department of Defense budget cuts and downsizing efforts in the United States throughout the 1990s, a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) was simultaneously undertaken which focused on technological advancements in equipment, targeting, weaponry and intelligence collection. NATO's European members, with the arguable exception of the British, and to a lesser degree the French, had developed defensive forces of regional scope and capabilities congruent with their Cold War, Continental responsibilities. Unburdened by the global security requirements associated with former colonial holdings, European budgets reflected a renewed prioritization on social and economic sustainment and development. Furthermore, each of NATO's members managed its defense budgets independently. European expenditures remained largely regional, defensive, and lacking in the technological advances being undertaken in the United States. They likewise produced redundancies in some areas, and total force deficiencies in others as a result of NATO's unsynchronized approach to funding. The reunification of Germany in 1990, the signing of the Maastricht Treaty which established the European Union in February of 1992,¹⁴³ and the continued emergence and incorporation of former Eastern Bloc nations into Western European markets further diminished European defense spending. As NATO enters its sixty third year, the capabilities gap between the United States and many of its European allies has become quite pronounced. In a 2011 speech in Brussels, outgoing U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates noted that the United States' military alliance with Europe faced a "dim, if not dismal future," as a result of a perpetual European willingness for American

¹⁴³Maastricht Treaty, <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf> (accessed 1 April 2012).

taxpayers to fund their defense. He also stated that many European allies sit on the sidelines of crisis, “not because they don’t want to participate, but simply because they can’t. The military capabilities simply aren’t there.”¹⁴⁴ A historical analysis of the development of NATO and its military capabilities reveals a partial logic for the existence of this disparity in capabilities. The capabilities gap, so often noted throughout NATO’s sixty-three year history, has nonetheless remained a constant. Several significant factors have changed, however, which have further broadened and highlighted the gap.

Change of Regional Focus

The first significant factor which has arguably amplified the disparity of NATO’s member capabilities has been the operationalized, “out of area” nature NATO’s enhanced mission which, while largely untested during the Cold War, has now called to attention a capabilities gap which has in fact always existed. Built to support a regional defense in depth against a Soviet invasion in Northeastern Europe, NATO’s European forces were limited beyond this largely static, defensive scope. NATO’s flexible defense tenets saw large conscript forces, and heavy concentrations of armor and artillery providing an initial defensive barrier, while strategic air assets and surface batteries were intended to attrite on coming Soviet formations with conventional and nuclear munitions in a total war concept. When first operationally employed in combat in Kuwait and Iraq during the execution of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, large troop and equipment formations reflected the capabilities of a force constructed to fight correspondingly large conventional formations. Despite the geographic and physical challenges and adaptations

¹⁴⁴CBSnews.com, “Gates Criticizes NATO; How Much Does U.S. Pay?”
http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-202_162-20070541.html (accessed 5 April 2012).

presented by conflict in a desert environment, U.S. and Coalition forces fought and decisively won a Cold War style conventional fight against a foe which conveniently adhered to a limited form of Soviet doctrinal employment. While heralded as a great Coalition victory and harbinger of NATO application in future out of area operations, analysis of the defeat and expulsion of Iraqi forces in 1991 shows it to have been both an anomaly of circumstances, and partial template for 21st Century NATO “out of area” operations.

Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm

On 2 August 1990 Iraqi forces invaded and quickly overwhelmed the forces of the Kuwaiti Army.¹⁴⁵ In its lightning assault and annexation of Kuwait, Iraq’s invasion provided the first significant international crisis in the post-Cold War era. The invasion produced two concerns which directly impacted NATO and its members. The first was the potential disruption of oil from the Gulf Region. This issue alone garnered the concern of all NATO members, and indeed gained greater international support for the mission. As such, the invasion marked a significant breach of international law, and provided justification and unification of cause, to include Arab nations, well beyond NATO’s membership or security parameters. Secondly, Iraq bordered Turkey; a NATO member. Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait, possession of air and missile capabilities, and demonstrated use of chemical weapons against Iran posed a potential threat to Turkey.

¹⁴⁵BBC News On Line, “1990: Iraq Invades Kuwait,” http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthistday/hi/dates/stories/august/2/newsid_2526000/2526937.stm (accessed 13 April 2012).

The possibility of the first ever invocation of Article V of the Washington Treaty produced an unprecedented and immediate response from NATO.

On 10 August 1990 the North Atlantic Council (NAC) was convened to determine NATO's response. Intelligence reporting was elevated in the Southern Region, and NATO commenced Operation Southern Guard, with a mission to "counter any threat that may develop in the Southern Region of Allied Command Europe as a result of the Middle East crisis."¹⁴⁶ Utilizing early warning aircraft flown from Turkey by crews from thirteen nations, NATO closely monitored activities hundreds of miles into Iraq. On 14 September, the Naval On-Call Force Mediterranean (NAVOCFORMED) was activated for the first time in its history. As Operation Desert Shield became Operation Desert Storm in February of 1991, NATO remained engaged, monitoring the southern border of Turkey and ensuring the flow of shipping through the Straits of Gibraltar and Suez Canal. While NATO, which remained insistent that it would not participate in an "out of area" mission, did not assume command and control of the thirty-six nation coalition in support of Desert Storm, twelve of NATO's sixteen members committed forces. Furthermore, NATO's capabilities provided a forum for standardization and consultation among the coalition forces.¹⁴⁷

Providing a glimpse at the utility of the Transatlantic Alliance in future 21st Century contingency scenarios, NATO basing, infrastructure and pre-positioned equipment would play a vital role in the expulsion of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. As General George Joulwan, Commander in Chief of the U.S. European Command

¹⁴⁶Medcalf, *NATO, A Beginner's Guide*, 25.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*

commented, the existence of NATO gave the United States and its allies “access to basing and infrastructure necessary for force projection both in Europe and in the Persian Gulf.”¹⁴⁸ Indeed, ninety-five percent of strategic airlift capability, ninety percent of combat aircraft, and eighty-five percent of naval shipping staged in or transited through NATO’s European bases.¹⁴⁹ NATO nations provided lift to move U.S. forces into the region, combat aircraft and basing from southern Turkey, as well as aerial refueling from France, Greece, Italy and Spain. Common NATO training, organizational structure and doctrine were likewise used to coordinate coalition forces and planning. NATO’s infrastructure, training and cooperation “virtually” contributed to a coalition operation within, and beyond the traditional regional bounds of NATO defense. The preponderance of forces and equipment, however, were provided by the United States. As NATO emerged from its first post-Cold War engagement, it began to search for its new *raison d’etre*. It had successfully contributed to an overwhelming victory in Kuwait, did so with UN approval, suffered minimal casualties, and faced a conveniently conventional force which lacked strategic air capabilities. It was not yet prepared, however, to pursue radical changes to its regional mission or military organization. Indeed, while the Berlin Wall had crumbled, the Soviet Union still existed. The collapse of the Soviet Union in December of 1991 would produce the first significant modification to NATO’s mission and focus as it began to explore the importance of stabilization of its former Eastern European foes. The Soviet collapse and dissolution of the Warsaw Pact would likewise arguably shepherd the demise of the truly conventional, industrial era conflict for which

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

NATO's forces had been constructed. These historical events would usher in a new era of emerging nation states, non-state actors, terrorism, political and economic instability, and ethnic tension which would produce both regional and out of area security concerns. While NATO's role in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm provides valuable insight into its potential worth in future contingencies, the conventional forces and doctrine which were amassed to "win" the Cold War, and which were employed to defeat Saddam Hussein's Iraq in 1991, were quickly becoming less relevant in the face of a dynamic, post-Soviet operating environment.

The Utility of Force Argument

War no longer exists. Confrontation, conflict and combat undoubtedly exist all around the world-most noticeably, but not only, in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Palestinian Territories-and states still have armed forces which they use as a symbol of power. Nonetheless, war as battle in a field between men and machinery, war as a massive deciding event in a dispute in international affairs: such war no longer exists.¹⁵⁰

In his book, *The Utility of Force*, retired British General Rupert Smith provides consideration for a second significant cause of NATO's capabilities imbalance when he argues that the nature of conflict in the post-Cold War age has largely changed. Built to conduct a massive air and land battle of attrition in Europe, the forces which were trained, equipped and employed during the Cold War were never truly tested in this super power conflict. Coalition employment in Operation Desert Storm offered a rare window of opportunity during which the Berlin Wall had collapsed, but the dynamics of the post-Cold War world had not yet fully materialized. Since Operation Desert Storm, NATO's

¹⁵⁰General Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force; The Art of War in the Modern World* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2008), 3.

operations have required agile, deployable forces requiring technologically advanced capabilities, full spectrum training and application, and organizational adaptability with which to engage hybrid enemy forces which are no longer defined by nation states or doctrinal military templates. General Smith refers to this new form of conflict as a post-industrial, “war amongst the people.”¹⁵¹ Smith illustrates his case by arguing that, at the end of the Cold War, NATO allies were estimated to have amassed a force of over 23,000 tanks. Since then, tanks have not been used as the primary component of combat operations in any conflict. “The use of the tank as a machine of war organized in formation, designed to do battle and attain definitive result, has not occurred in three decades. Nor, for that matter, is it ever likely to occur again, for the wars in which armored formations could and should be used are no longer practical. This does not mean that a big fight with large groups of forces and weapons is no longer possible, but it does mean that it will not be an industrial one in either intent or prosecution; industrial war no longer exists.”¹⁵² While there may be scenarios in which General Smith’s argument could be challenged, the nature of warfare since the collapse of the Soviet Union has largely validated Smith’s premise. As such, the “Utility of Force” argument would imply that, while a conventional military capabilities gap does indeed exist between the United States and its European allies, NATO application of force in the past decade has reflected a slow recognition and organizational adaptation to the dynamic and changing nature of 21st Century conflict.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 19.

¹⁵²Ibid., 4.

Operations Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Operation Allied Force, undertaken in 1999 in Kosovo provided the first opportunity for NATO to truly exercise command and control of combat and subsequent security operations. During the seventy-eight day air campaign, fourteen of NATO's then nineteen members participated. NATO aircraft flew over 38,000 sorties, of which over 14,000 were strike missions. Of those 38,000 missions, the United States flew over sixty percent. Of the 14,000 strike missions, the United States conducted over seventy percent. Of those strike missions, ninety percent of the missions in which precision munitions were delivered were flown by the United States.¹⁵³ An analysis of the conflict shows that the dislodgement of dispersed regular and irregular forces, conducting operations among the population, and indeed against the population in some cases, required forces and application considerably modified from those developed to defend Northwestern Europe. Indeed, much like operations in Somalia in the early 1990s, the Balkans further highlighted the challenges of movement and employment of forces and resources throughout the spectrum of conflict from low intensity security and stability, to full spectrum combat operations. It further highlighted deficiencies in many European force conventional capabilities to include strategic lift, suppression of enemy air defenses, weapons compatibilities, target identification and communications.¹⁵⁴ Operation Allied Force specifically highlighted the need for increased mobility of forces, improved technological equality between the United States and its European allies, and enhanced interoperability among its forces. A British Defense Select Committee, when assessing

¹⁵³Medcalf, *NATO, A Beginner's Guide*, 74.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*

the effectiveness of Operation Allied Force concluded that, “overall, Operation Allied Force demonstrated just how far the European NATO nations are from having a capability to act without massive U.S. support.”¹⁵⁵ Former NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson would additionally comment,

The Kosovo air campaign demonstrated just how dependent the European Allies had become on U.S. military capabilities. From precision guided weapons and all-weather aircraft to ground troops that can get to the crisis quickly and then stay there with adequate logistical support, the European Allies did not have enough of the right stuff. On paper, Europe has two million men and women under arms, more than the United States. But despite those two million soldiers, it was a struggle to come up with 40,000 troops to deploy as peace keepers in the Balkans.¹⁵⁶

9/11 and Beyond

The events of 11 September, 2001 would bring about the first and only invocation of Article V of the Washington Treaty in its sixty-three year history. While significant in its initially unified response, the preponderance of the military response again largely fell to U.S. forces which maintained the capability of projecting their troops, equipment and logistical sustainment beyond their national borders. Contentious disagreement over the invasion of Iraq in 2003 arguably produced the Alliance’s most publicized fissures in its long history. Sustained operations in Afghanistan and air operations in Libya have since seen the United States contribute the predominance of deployed forces, and much like Operation Allied Force, the overwhelming contribution of precision munitions, strategic lift, targeting and command and control platforms.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

This study has argued that the divergence of military capabilities between the United States and its European allies has largely always existed throughout NATO's history. It has further argued that the imbalance which has developed has been, in part due to historically and geographically significant reasons among others. Despite numerous NATO adaptive initiatives in which it has shown recognition of the geopolitical and security changes which have occurred since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the capabilities imbalance continues to exist. Indeed, while European defense budgets, with a few exceptions have remained largely static over the past decade, the U.S. defense budget grew significantly in response the events of 9/11 and subsequent operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. A third significant contributing factor which has exacerbated the capabilities gap has been the incorporation of former Warsaw Pact nations into the NATO fold.

As NATO's membership and partnership expanded throughout the 1990s and through the first decade of the 21st Century, it assumed the responsibility for reorganizing, equipping and training its newly joined members. Much like the Western European reliance on the United States for the predominance of the Cold War's strategic lift and expeditionary forces, the Warsaw Pact's Eastern European members likewise placed a great degree of reliance on Russian capabilities. As the Soviet Union collapsed, Eastern European nations emerged from the Cold War with a force of largely derelict equipment. While eager to join NATO, and notably willing to participate in U.S. led operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, NATO has largely had to absorb the sustained cost of incorporating and equipping its new members.

As NATO's mission, scope and membership have developed and enlarged in the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States has continued to play a vital role in both the sustainment of security and stability in Europe. It has likewise benefitted economically, politically and militarily from the long, historical relationship which the Transatlantic Alliance has provided to its own global engagements.

In the years following the Cold War, the rise of the United States as the lone, global superpower, has highlighted internal weakness and operational capability imbalances within the Alliance which have long been tempered by NATO's focus on the Soviet threat to Western Europe. NATO has worked to address these imbalances, and has simultaneously undertaken numerous organizational adaptations in light of emerging security threats and an increasingly global operating environment. Its most recent strategic adaptations reflect a growing recognition of the increasingly global scope of regional security.

Initiatives to Close the Gap

From its origins in the years immediately following World War II, throughout its existence during the Cold War and beyond, there have been continual trans-Atlantic calls and initiatives to improve the share of burden regarding commitments of budgets, resources, forces and technological development of NATO's respective military forces:

- The Lisbon Conference of 1952 established initial force goals for the Alliance.
- President Kennedy's call in 1961 for "twin pillars" of effort between the United States and its European Allies again highlighted the need for Europe to balance its share of contributions.

- The Mansfield Resolutions of 1966-1970 called for a reduction in U.S. forces in Europe due to the changing nature of our ability to project forces, and due to the inability of European allies to provide for their own defense. They were largely not enacted due to a belief that the sustainment of U.S. force levels on the European Continent provided needed diplomatic leverage against the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

- The 1974 Jackson-Nunn Amendment called for European allies to offset the balance of payments to NATO as compensation for the cost of stationing U.S. forces in Europe that year.¹⁵⁷

- The Carter Administration's call in 1977 for a goal of NATO defense spending at a rate of three percent above inflation.¹⁵⁸

- Congressional calls throughout the 1980s to withdraw U.S. forces from Europe in light of European failures to meet their three percent defense expenditure goals.

Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO commenced a series of initiatives to reassess its collective defense strategy and to discuss emerging mission considerations. In 1999, following Operation Allied Force in the Balkans, NATO implemented the Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI). According to NATO; "The objective of the Defence Capabilities Initiative is to ensure the effectiveness of future multinational operations across the full spectrum of Alliance missions in the present and foreseeable security environment with a special focus on improving interoperability among Alliance

¹⁵⁷Sloan, *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*, 86.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*

forces and where applicable also between Alliance and Partner forces.”¹⁵⁹ The DCI was designed to facilitate the rapid deployment of NATO troops to crisis regions, to sustain and safeguard those forces, and to enable their effective engagement against a variety of enemy forces. In 2002, NATO presented the Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC), developed to further quantify the means by which the goals of the DCI would be achieved. At Istanbul in 2004, and again at Riga in 2006, NATO again affirmed its commitments to the goals established at the PCC, but highlighted member failures to meet their commitment obligations. Implied in each of the capabilities initiatives were increases in defense spending among NATO members. The 2008 Bucharest Summit further stressed the urgency of NATO’s need to transform and modernize its force to meet emerging requirements and enhance interoperability.¹⁶⁰ The first decade of the 21st Century marked many noted initiatives, adaptations and a recognition of the developing nature of global security. NATO’s many conferences accurately captured the challenges and requirements necessary to meet these growing demands, and a degree of progress was in fact made. Significant deficiencies, largely tied to European defense spending limitations however, remained in several key categories including precision guided munitions, strategic lift, and general abilities to project and sustain forces beyond the regional scope of the defense of Europe. Compounding these deficiencies were the significant political rifts which occurred between the United States and several of its European allies regarding the necessity of operations in Iraq and later Afghanistan.

¹⁵⁹NATO, “Defense Capabilities Initiative,” <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/1999/9912-hq/fs-dci99.htm> (accessed 2 March 2012).

¹⁶⁰NATO, “Bucharest Summit Summary,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm (accessed 4 March 2012).

Indeed, European sentiment, largely supportive of the United States in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, had shifted dramatically following the contentious build up to Operation Iraqi Freedom. While NATO has notably taken on a significant role in operations in Afghanistan, the global economic crisis, and specific instability in the Euro-zone have compounded divergent national interests and perspectives regarding the use of NATO forces in support of out of area missions. The end-state has been the sustainment of a six decade capabilities gap despite numerous initiatives to narrow the imbalance. Operation Unified Protector in Libya would highlight the contemporary nature of the problem.

Operation Unified Protector

While heralded by many as a significant NATO achievement and example of European initiative, leadership and capabilities, an analysis of Operation Unified Protector in Libya in fact shows it to be, in many regards, an example of the continued imbalance in military capabilities between the United States and its European allies. Despite America's "leadership from behind" public statements regarding the conflict, the forces brought to bear in the defeat of Gaddafi's Libyan forces in fact reflected a continued, quiet reliance on American capabilities.

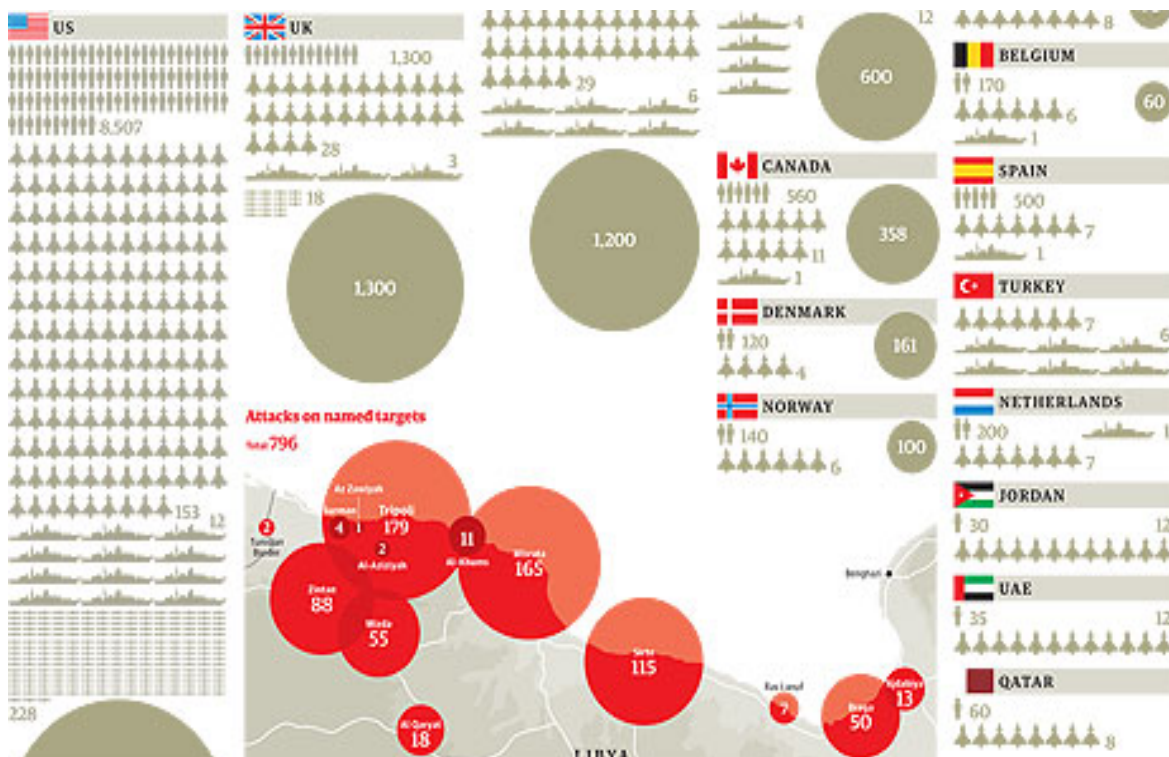


Figure 5. NATO Contributions to Operation Odyssey Dawn/Unified Protector

Source: *Guardian News*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/may/22/nato-libya-data-journalism-operations-country> (accessed 15 April 2012).

Highlighting the continued reliance on American precision targeting, aircraft, command and control, and indeed responsiveness as seen by the Operation's opening air strikes; commanded and controlled by a U.S. Marine Expeditionary Unit under the authority of U.S. Africa Command until NATO was capable of assuming the mission, NATO's success was still largely a function of U.S. military contributions. As noted by Great Britain's *Guardian* newspaper in a 22 May 2011 article; "As in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is easy with overwhelming forces and superior organization to gain control in a conventional conflict. The real skill is to achieve a successful, enduring peace and political settlement. In its concentration on getting rid of Gaddafi, as an end in itself,

too little attention has been paid to what happens afterwards.”¹⁶¹ Despite the well publicized success which NATO enjoyed in the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, its continued inability to recognize and respond to the management of critical post conflict affairs continues to plague Western forces in 21st Century conflict.

Lisbon Conference of 2010

Recognizing the dramatic geo-political and security changes which have occurred since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and most notably since 9/11, NATO leaders gathered in Lisbon, Portugal in November of 2010 to review and revise its strategy. The product of this summit was the “New Strategic Concept.” Intended to provide a road map for the Alliance through 2020, it represented the first major revision to NATO’s strategy since 1999.¹⁶² The concept remained true to the Alliance’s long standing tenet of the mutual defense of its members, but further provided vision on the development of a more agile, efficient and effective organization. It notably acknowledged the global nature of political and security developments, beyond the traditional bounds of the European continent. As such, the Strategic Concept sought to broaden its global partnerships, and provided a framework to increase its effectiveness to influence developing international security concerns in the 21st Century.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹*Guardian News*, “This Libyan War is on the Cheap,” <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/may/22/nato-un-libya-strategy-failure> (accessed 11 April 2012).

¹⁶²Klaus Wittmann, “NATO’s New Strategic Concept Hones the Alliance’s Role in a Multipolar World,” *Journal of European Security and Defense Issues* (6 January 2012): 16.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*

NATO's New Strategic Concept is centered on three core tasks: Defense, Deterrence, and Security. The New Strategic Concept proposed to accomplish these core tasks by means of crisis management, and the promotion of international security through cooperation.¹⁶⁴ In recognition of the global impacts of crisis and conflict on regional security and economic interests, NATO further proposed to apply these core tasks to an expanded, "out of area" zone of interest. "Rather than focusing on territorial defense, the New Strategic Concept considers an array of present and future security challenges. These include proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, ballistic missiles, cyber-attacks, international terrorism and the rise of Islamic extremism, threats to critical energy infrastructure and emerging technologies; all seen as areas in which the Alliance can demonstrate solidarity."¹⁶⁵ In designing the New Strategic Concept, NATO planners did not prioritize between defense and crisis management. Indeed, the prevention of conflict, stabilization of post conflict scenarios and reconstruction were each viewed as critical NATO requirements. While arguably thorough in its assessment of the world's most significant security challenges, interpretation, agreement and implementation remain elusive. As the United States and its twenty-seven NATO allies enter a period of sustained economic austerity, national differences of opinion regarding the application of NATO forces remain. The question of burden sharing is again at the heart of the debate.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

Chapter 5 Summary

This chapter summarizes the evolution of NATO in the two decades following the end of the Cold War, provided an overview of NATO participation in several post-Cold War NATO operations, and most notably offered considerations as to the nature of the long standing capabilities gap between the United States and its European allies. Chapter 6 will provide a summary of this study, assessing the historical genesis of NATO, the historical importance of U.S. participation in the European security equilibrium since World War II, and ramifications of budget cuts to NATO's future. It will additionally offer considerations on the lesser discussed benefits which participation in NATO provides U.S. expeditionary forces in the 21st Century operating environment.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND ANALYSIS

The goal of NATO is to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down.¹⁶⁶

— Lord General Hastings Ismay,
NATO Secretary General 1952-1957

Overview

Chapter 1 established the significance of this study, outlining the limitations, delimitations, primary and secondary questions necessary to assess the stated problem. Chapter 2 summarized the depth and breadth of existing research and documentation related to this study. It reiterated the problem statement and established search strings associated with the events which contributed to the establishment, organizational construct, adaptation and application of NATO from its origins to its most recent operations in Libya. Chapter 2 further established the availability of primary and secondary source material, including personal testimony, congressional hearings, planning documents, operational reports and numerous works detailing and critiquing the creation and adaptation of NATO over the past sixty-three years. Chapter 3 reviewed the intricate series of economic, political and diplomatic events which unfolded in the immediate aftermath of World War II and contributed substantially to the formation of a Transatlantic Alliance. In doing so, it established the foundations for an argument that U.S. participation in European security matters provided for both an immediate

¹⁶⁶Geoffrey Wheatcroft, “Who Needs NATO?” *New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/16/opinion/16iht-edwheatcroft16.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed 20 January 2012).

establishment of a balance to Soviet power in Europe, and long term economic and political stabilization of Western Europe itself. It further provided the foundations for an argument that NATO remains a viable and valuable platform for continued collaboration, cooperation and dialogue in the dynamic, 21st Century operating environment. Chapter 4 discussed the formation of NATO, and its organizational developments during the opening decade of the Cold War. Chapter 5 summarized the evolution of NATO in the two decades following the end of the Cold War, provided an overview of select NATO operations, and most notably offered an explanation as to the nature of the long standing capabilities gap between the United States and its European allies. Chapter 6 will provide a summary of this study, assessing the historical genesis of NATO, the historical importance of U.S. participation in the European security equilibrium since World War II, the ramifications of budget cuts on NATO's future, and the inherent worth of NATO in the 21st Century operating environment. As NATO enters its third decade since the end of the Cold War, the Transatlantic Alliance continues to face developing geopolitical challenges which were temporarily suppressed during the Cold War. The confluence of economic instability, ethnic and religious tension, empowerment of a resurgent and influential Germany, and renewed anti-Western sentiment in the wake of Vladimir Putin's controversial re-election in Russia harken memories of NATO's earliest days. As noted by classical historian Victor Davis Hanson,

The rise of a German Europe began in 1914, failed twice, and has now ended in the victory of German power almost a century later. The Europe that Kaiser Wilhelm lost in 1918, and that Adolf Hitler destroyed in 1945, has at last been won by German Chancellor Angela Merkel without firing a shot. Or so it seems from European newspapers, which now refer bitterly to a "Fourth Reich" and arrogant new Nazi "Gauleiters" who dictate terms to their European subordinates. Popular cartoons depict Germans with stiff-arm salutes and

swastikas, establishing new rules of behavior for supposedly inferior peoples. Millions of terrified Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, Portuguese and other Europeans are pouring their savings into German banks at the rate of \$15 billion a month. A thumbs-up or thumbs-down from the euro-rich Merkel now determines whether European countries will limp ahead with new German-backed loans or default and see their standard of living regress to that of a half-century ago. A worried neighbor, France, in schizophrenic fashion, as so often in the past, alternately lashes out at Britain for abandoning it and fawns on Germany to appease it. The worries in 1989 of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French President François Mitterrand over German unification - that neither a new European Union nor an old NATO could quite rein in German power - proved true.¹⁶⁷

While the likelihood of another total war on the Continent is arguably quite remote, many of the factors which led to NATO's formation remain active today in varying degrees. Contemporary security challenges which impact the Transatlantic Alliance, however, are further exacerbated by an unstable arrangement of emerging nation states, non-state actors, ethnic discord, economic instability and terrorism, which have re-emerged in the wake of the Cold War. During the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO has been defined by organizational adaptation, increased membership, and a broadened mission scope. Heightened differences within the Alliance, particularly between the United States and its Western European allies, have likewise defined post-Cold War NATO. While this study has argued that fissures have always existed throughout NATO's sixty-three year history, divergence grew dramatically in the contentious build up and execution of Operation Iraqi Freedom in the spring of 2003, and would continue through NATO's assumption of combat operations in

¹⁶⁷Victor Davis Hanson, "The Hundred Years' German War," http://www.tmsfeatures.com/columns/political/international/victor-davis-hanson/25561179.html?articleURL=http://rss.tmsfeatures.com/websvc-bin/rss_story_read.cgi?resid=201112140930TMS_____VDHANSON_ctnvh-a_20111215 (accessed 15 December 2011).

Afghanistan and Libya. A historical analysis of America's formal entry into European security in the years immediately following World War II, and on the momentous changes which have occurred since the collapse of the Soviet Union, provide perspective on many of today's most pressing NATO matters.

Primary Questions

The primary questions which this study has sought to answer are: "Using a historical assessment of NATO, its origination and functions in the years immediately following World War II, what role has the Transatlantic Alliance played in the European security equilibrium, and in what way has that role changed in the post-Cold War operating environment?"

To help answer these questions, this study began by examining how, in fact, NATO came into existence. The study examined the development of a bi-polar, Cold War operating environment and its impact on the geo-political landscape which shaped the creation of this Transatlantic Alliance. In doing so, it helped lay the ground work for an understanding of the formative years of NATO, its origins, mission, organization and the critical, yet controversial role of U.S. participation in the Alliance. This historical assessment of NATO's establishment in the years immediately following World War II has provided several considerations for its role and influence on European security, both during the Cold War and beyond:

1. The failure of World War II's victors to agree upon the management of a defeated Germany provided the genesis for an ideological battle for supremacy on the European Continent and beyond which would become known as the Cold War. Fears of further Soviet encroachment into Western Europe, the ever present paranoia of a

resurgent Germany, and the monumental task of reconstructing the devastated European economy would largely draw the United States into the security equilibrium equation in the years immediately following World War II.

2. America's reluctant and long debated formal entry into the Transatlantic Alliance in 1949 marked its acceptance as a global super power. Its subsequent military development, training and employment would be largely shaped by its role in the defense of Western Europe, and by its associated global security responsibilities as a super power. The scope of these responsibilities would be amplified by the simultaneous diminishment of European colonial holdings which had for centuries previously provided a requirement for European military forces to maintain global reach and influence; by Europe's own post World War II economic, political and social recovery; and by the concepts of a flexible defense which included a nuclear deterrent. At the end of the Cold War, the capabilities gap which had developed between the United States and many of its European allies reflected in part, the changing nature of their respective employment requirements, priorities and historical experiences in the 20th Century.

3. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the United States quickly adopted a policy of German re-integration as a means of a revitalized Western European economy and restoration of a balance of power on the Continent. The ramifications of this policy were significant in shaping the nature of the U.S. commitment to European security. In order to gain West Germany's re-integration, the United States had to weave an intricate diplomatic web of military and economic assurances to a wary Western Europe. Indeed, the initial deployment and sustainment of U.S. ground troops into West Germany reflects the degree of compromise which was necessary to enable its integration. While attempts

to develop a “European Army” were largely championed by the United States as a means to avoid sustained U.S. troop contributions to European defense, the failure to ratify the EDC, and the subsequent integration of West Germany into NATO, in fact, ensured a long term U.S. troop commitment throughout the Cold War and beyond. While highly publicized fissures in the transatlantic relationship over the past decade have renewed the long standing debate regarding the purpose and effectiveness of NATO on both sides of the Atlantic, the Alliance has, nonetheless remained a mature, recognized mechanism for collaboration, debate and cooperation in the challenging world which has emerged in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The current economic crisis in the E.U., the emergence of non-state actors, WMD proliferation and terrorism, and the notable resurgence of German and Russian power and influence on the Continent, amplify the historical role and importance of NATO. The sustained assurances that the United States is formally engaged in European affairs, and is committed to intercede to ensure European stability and protection, arguably remain as vital today as they did in 1949.

4. The complexity of post-World War II Europe reflected a unique convergence of centuries of international co-existence and competition, the remarkable confluence of Allied unification in the defeat of Hitler’s Germany, the subsequent rapid deterioration of the “Grand Alliance” following Germany’s capitulation, and an unmatched degree of devastation to the European Continent as a result of the war. These factors provided the necessary ingredients for the requirement, debate and diplomacy which ultimately produced the Transatlantic Alliance. An analysis of NATO’s formation and development in the post-World War II world have shown it to have been complex and methodical; reflective of contemporary realities, intricate historical foundations, and developing Cold

War antagonisms. Its formation, therefore, reflected the remarkable product of these and many other factors. Despite its changing roles, scope and missions in the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO has arguably adapted and retained its critical role in the sustainment of the intricate balance between economic and political stability, and associated security assurances on the European continent and beyond.

While better options may theoretically exist, this study has argued that the durability of NATO's foundations as an alliance proved a sufficient deterrent to Soviet aggression in Western Europe. It further showed that its strengths as an organization, developed following a sustained period of diplomacy, compromise, and adaptation were such that NATO's worth has eclipsed the complexity and challenges which the creation of an entirely new organization of similar purpose would pose in today's complex geo-political environment. Throughout NATO's numerous adaptations, enlargement, and mission modifications, the Transatlantic Alliance's foundations have weathered the dramatic changes which have encompassed its continued existence. More than a mere Cold War relic, the Transatlantic Alliance, while not without its limitations and challenges, continues to provide a mature, recognizable and adaptable forum of dialogue and collaboration from which the global interests of both the United States and its European allies can be developed and applied.

Impact of Changes since the Collapse of the Soviet Union

The Alliance's expansion and the current geo-political situation have served to highlight and amplify capabilities imbalances which have, in fact, existed in varying degrees since NATO's inception. This study has offered historical considerations for the notable divergence in defense spending and development between the United States and

many of its European allies. The collapse of the Soviet Union and dissolution of the Warsaw Pact created an initial identity crisis for NATO that was quickly suppressed by organizational adaptations which shifted the Alliance's focus beyond the defense of Western Europe, and onto partnership and engagement with its former adversaries in Eastern Europe. Senator Richard Lugar was quoted as saying that NATO needed to go "out of area or out of business."¹⁶⁸ In the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, this study has argued that several significant factors have influenced both NATO's employment in the post-Cold War world, and the perception of a growing divergence in capabilities between the United States and its European allies.

1. Foremost among these important factors is NATO's recognition of the increasingly global nature of security and economic stability, and its mission adaptations, to include conflict prevention and post conflict stabilization which have logically drawn its core tasks beyond the regional confines of Continental Europe. While arguably critical to NATO's continued relevancy in the post-Cold War world, the expansion of the Alliance's "out of area" mission and scope highlighted a notable imbalance in member capabilities. As the United States emerged from the Cold War prepared to conduct military operations well beyond its own shores, its lone super power status created an immediate imbalance in such capabilities among its European NATO allies. Indeed, in lieu of ever diminishing colonial holdings in the decades following World War II, European forces had long been re-oriented on the defense of Western Europe, and generally reliant upon U.S. conventional capabilities, strategic lift, and its nuclear arsenal.

¹⁶⁸Anton Bebler, *NATO at 60; The Post-Cold War Enlargement and the Alliance's Future* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: IOS Press 2010), 187.

As such, when the Alliance emerged from the Cold War, only the United States, and to a lesser degree Great Britain and France, could effectively project and sustain forces globally. The inclination towards the “peace dividends” of victory in the Cold War, and investment in the incorporation of former Warsaw Pact nations, further exacerbated this capabilities gap throughout the first two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

2. Compounding the capabilities gap, chapter 5 of this study has argued that the nature of warfare has undergone fundamental changes since the end of the Cold War. As discussed in Smith’s *The Utility of Force*, total war, between forces representing nation states has largely been supplanted by asymmetric “small wars” waged by failed or failing states, and non-state actors. As such, the forces, doctrine and institutions which were built to defeat the Soviet Union in the Fulda Gap have been challenged and have become vulnerable to the dynamics of insurgent operations, terrorism, and non-state actors. While the United States downsized its forces in the 1990s, it simultaneously enhanced its capabilities with a significant investment in technological advancements. Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm may have offered a final glimpse at the utility of the fielding of large conventional forces. Subsequent operations in the Balkans, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya have highlighted the limitations of NATO’s European members to employ forces in support of out of area, full spectrum operations. These operations have further called into question the Alliance’s political and military recognition and adaptability to the complexity and asymmetric nature of 21st Century conflict.

3. Finally, this study has suggested that the incorporation of former Eastern Bloc nations into both the European economy and the NATO military infrastructure created an

immediate imbalance in capacity and capabilities. As noted during German reunification and the years which followed, the incorporation of East German economic capacity into the established and vibrant West German economic architecture created an initial bow-wave of imbalance which had to be absorbed by the former West Germany economy. The incorporation of former Eastern Bloc nations into the general European economy produced similar impacts and a natural focus on the reconstruction of integrated economic activities on the Continent. Indeed, many of NATO's European members might argue that the burden of economic incorporation and partnership with these emerging Eastern European nations fell largely to the European side of the Alliance. The establishment of the European Union drew priorities further away from defense related spending and closer to the peace dividends so long desired during and after the Cold War. The incorporation of former Warsaw Pact nations into NATO produced a further sense of imbalance as new members and partners, long dependent on Russian military might, entered a technologically advanced, U.S. led NATO Alliance. While eager to participate in NATO operations as a means to further validate their inclusion in NATO, and the associated security assurances provided by such an alliance, former Warsaw Pact participants were likewise ill equipped to integrate quickly into NATO's operational forces. As a resurgent Russia under the leadership of an increasingly anti-Western Putin re-emerges in the third decade since the collapse of the Soviet Union, further NATO enlargement and partnership, and the ramifications of Article V bear careful watch and consideration.

Sustainment and Purpose in a Period of
Fiscal Austerity and Increasing Threat

As the United States and NATO's European members and partners enter a period of sustained and significant fiscal austerity, the consequences of cuts to respective DOD budgets will undoubtedly have an impact on military capabilities, technological advancements and parity, and world-wide employment consideration. Projected defense budget cuts highlight this concern:

Table 5. Projected Changes in Defense Budget; 2010–2015

Germany	-21%
U.S.	-14%
U.K.	-11%
France	-2%

Source: Stephen Fidler and Alistair MacDonald, "Europe Retreats on Defense Spending," *Wall Street Journal*, 24 August, 2011.

Should the United States maintain its historical roles and responsibilities as a global super power, the requirement to maintain a force with a capability to influence and project power globally remains vital to those tasks. The continued availability of forward basing, staging and logistical support, as well as international legitimacy provided by *any* number of our European allies remain vital to American interests in Africa and the Middle East; areas which do not appear to be stabilizing in the near term. While sustainment of the global commons and stability on Europe's periphery remain of direct consequence to European Continental security and stability, it is unlikely that many of NATO's European members or partners will be economically able or diplomatically

willing to materially close the gap on high end military capabilities. As NATO enters its May 2012 Summit in Chicago to quantify the requirements of Smart Defense proposed in the 2010 Lisbon Conference, the economic challenges which encompass the E.U. today indicate a strong unlikelihood that defense spending will become an increased priority among many NATO members or partners. Indeed, the concepts of Smart Defense themselves, while intriguing are not in fact new. At the PCC in 2002, NATO members were called upon to make commitments to develop their capabilities in specific areas, as well as to pool funds and combine resources. Sounding remarkably similar to Smart Defense proposals, the goals of the PCC were largely unmet due to the failure of many European allies to meet their contribution requirements. This fact, while understandably frustrating, is largely irrelevant if we assume that the United States must continue to maintain a national interest in European security and vitality, as well as that of the Middle East and Africa. While Smart Defense concepts and collaboration on more efficient development and integration of capabilities among NATO members and partners offer some hope for improved interoperability, significant economic austerity measures in Europe will, for the foreseeable future, ensure that the United States will remain the force of requirement to deal with global security matters. As such, *any* participation by its NATO allies, and *any* provision of basing, forward staging of equipment, precision munitions, targeting and command and control infrastructure by its European allies facilitate America's forward deployed and expeditionary requirements in the region.

Hybrid Options

As the U.S. today prepares to make significant cuts to its own Department of Defense budget in the wake of ten years of sustained conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan, its

forces will arguably be required to adapt and employ increasingly light, expeditionary, and technologically based organizations in order to meet the world's growing security challenges. As quoted in the *35th Commandant of the Marine Corps Commandant's Planning Guidance*, retired General Anthony Zinni stated that he viewed the future security environment as that of "two parallel worlds existing on this planet – a stable, progressively growing, developing world and an unstable, disintegrating, chaotic world. The two worlds-the stable and the unstable-are colliding."¹⁶⁹ The Commandant's Guidance would go on to describe the future operating environment as one of "increasing instability and conflict, characterized by poverty, competition for resources, urbanization, overpopulation and extremism."¹⁷⁰ Increasing competition for diminishing resources, growing populations, ethnic, religious and political discord, rogue states, non-state actors, terrorism and WMD proliferation all appear to be likely factors in the 21st Century operating environment. "Globalization will continue to increase inter-dependence between nations, placing a premium on access to the world's commons; land, sea, air, space and cyber. These five domains converge in the littorals where the majority of the world's population lives in close proximity to the sea."¹⁷¹ A quick look at the map will show the European Continent to be a strategic access point to many of the world's most vital commons, and many of the world's most volatile regions.

¹⁶⁹35th Commandant of the Marine Corps Commandant's Planning Guidance; *The Furture Security Environment*.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Ibid.

1. While the sustained footprint of large formations of U.S. forces as a deterrent to Soviet aggression is clearly no longer required on the European Continent, the retention of expeditionary capabilities, forward deployed Maritime force capabilities, command and control infrastructure, forward basing and pre-positioned equipment, as well as continued collaborative training with our European allies have arguably grown in importance to our interests, and those of our allies. The ability to rapidly project forces to the world's commons, to gain access to those commons, and to quickly reinforce and sustain those forces will arguably be the hallmark of 21st Century warfare.

2. Operation Unified Protector highlighted the continuation of a significant capabilities gap between the United States and its European allies. As noted by this study, European economic challenges do not paint a hopeful picture for a significant closure of that gap in the near term, regardless of the efficiencies which "Smart Defense" may provide. Recent military operations in the past decade have further shown that conventional victories in the initial stages of military operations have been largely eclipsed by the chaos which has ensued due to a failure to envision and achieve a successful, enduring peace and political settlement following initial combat operations. While deployed military forces have largely assumed the roles and responsibilities previously assigned to diplomatic missions, the U.S. State department remains largely undermanned and over-stretched to provide any significant relief to this burden. If the argument that NATO's European allies have bequeathed their defense obligations in part because of a historical preference to diplomacy and development, this critical capability may be among Europe's most valuable contributions to the prevention or resolution of future conflicts.

The Commandant's Guidance further described the developing world as "trending towards a more youthful demographic. Already pressurized by a lack of education and job opportunities, the marked increase of young men in underdeveloped countries will likely swell the ranks of disaffected groups, providing a more pronounced distinction between the 'haves' and the 'have nots.' At the same time, increasing competition for scarce natural resources- fossil fuels, food and clean water- will likely lead to tension, crisis and conflict."¹⁷² The rise of new powers and shifting geo-political relationships will create greater potential for competition and friction. The rapid proliferation of new technologies, cyber warfare and advanced precision weaponry will amplify the risks, empowering state and non-state actors as never before seen. These trends will exert a significant influence on the future security environment and, in turn, the ever changing character of warfare. Former Secretary of State Robert Gates described this resulting hybrid warfare as the "lethality where Microsoft coexists with machetes, and stealth is met by suicide bombers".¹⁷³ This is the environment in which NATO and its allies will operate, and it is in this environment that the United States will become increasingly dependent upon forward deployed forces, pre-staged equipment, and forward operating areas capable of producing decision space for follow on actions, be they military or diplomatic.

In light of the geo-political and socio-economic impacts of the current, Euro-zone crisis in Europe, Russian political unrest and anti-western sentiment in the wake of disputed elections, and a concurrent rise in nationalism throughout the European

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³Ibid.

Continent, it can be argued that the factors which drew the United States into the Transatlantic Alliance remain present, in varying degrees today. As such, the continued presence and influence of the United States as a provider of security and stability to Europe, as well as a deterrent to both internal and external aggression, remain as important today as they have throughout NATO's sixty-three year history. Moreover, the capabilities which even a diminished NATO provide - forward basing, logistical support, command and control and a forum for collaboration, dialogue, collaboration and field diplomacy - will likely prove invaluable as the United States enters the tumultuous years ahead.

Further Research Consideration

There are a number of additional questions, variables and options which may very well be worthy of further consideration regarding the future viability and practicality of NATO, and of continued U.S. participation in European security. Included among these might be:

1. The ramifications of a withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan in which a determination of victory is uncertain at best, a defeat at worst.
2. The ramifications of anti-Western governments emerging from the wake of the series of "Arab Awakening" events throughout North Africa and the Middle East. Most notable among these may be Libya, for whom NATO enabled its current state of affairs through its active military support of the removal of the Gaddafi regime, and Egypt whose policies regarding its relationship with Israel may be in transition.
3. The ramifications of NATO inaction in the current Syrian crisis.

4. Consideration for the leveraging of an emergent Turkish power in the Mediterranean region; specifically how Turkey may be used as a power broker to further Western interests regarding the Syrian crisis, the ongoing Palestinian/Israeli conflict, the consolidation and solidification of a viable government in Iraq, and the stabilization of post-Arab Awakening nations to name a few.

5. The ramifications of a total or partial collapse of the European Union.

6. Consideration regarding the application of Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty as it applies to the admittance of future NATO members; most notably those of the former Warsaw Pact. The ramifications of admittance of a nation such as Georgia, and subsequent evocation of NATO Article V mutual defense assurances pose significant concern for the future of NATO and Russian relations.

7. The ramifications of an emergent Russia under the leadership of Vladimir Putin.

8. The applicability of Article V of the North Atlantic treaty as considered against cyber attacks.

9. The ramifications of a nuclear armed Iran.

As author of this thesis, it is my hope that these additional topics will garner additional interest and review in future studies.

APPENDIX A

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

Washington D.C. - 4 April 1949

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security. They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty :

Article 1

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Article 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security .

Article 6 (1)

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack:

- on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France (2), on the territory of or on the Islands under the jurisdiction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer;
- on the forces, vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer.

Article 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

Article 9

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organised as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

Article 10

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

Article 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications. ⁽³⁾

Article 12

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North

Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 13

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

Article 14

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of other signatories.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴NATO, *The Wahsington Treaty*, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm (accessed 20 April 2012).

APPENDIX B

THE BRUSSELS PACT

TREATY OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COLLABORATION AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENCE 17 MARCH, 1948

His Majesty in respect of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Belgium, the President of the French Republic, Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, and Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Belgium, the President of the French Republic, President of the French Union, Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands and His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas,

Resolved:

To reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the other ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations;

To fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom and political liberty, the constitutional traditions and the rule of law, which are their common heritage;

To strengthen, with these aims in view, the economic, social and cultural ties by which they are already united;

To co-operate loyally and to co-ordinate their efforts to create in Western Europe a firm basis for European economic recovery;

To afford assistance to each other, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in maintaining international peace and security and in resisting any policy of aggression;

To take such steps as may be held to be necessary in the event of a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression;

To associate progressively in the pursuance of these aims other States inspired by the same ideals and animated by the like determination;

Desiring for these purposes to conclude a treaty for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for collective self-defence;

(...)

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

Convinced of the close community of their interests and of the necessity of uniting in order to promote the economic recovery of Europe, the High Contracting Parties will so organize and co-ordinate their economic activities as to produce the best possible results, by the elimination of conflict in their economic policies, the co-ordination of production and the development of commercial exchanges. The co-operation provided for in the preceding paragraph, which will be effected through the

Consultative Council referred to in Article VII as well as through other bodies, shall not involve any duplication of, or prejudice to, the work of other economic organizations in which the High Contracting Parties are or may be represented but shall on the contrary assist the work of those organizations.

Article 2

The High Contracting Parties will make every effort in common, both by direct consultation and in specialized agencies, to promote the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples and to develop on corresponding lines the social and other related services of their countries. The High Contracting Parties will consult with the object of achieving the earliest possible application of recommendations of immediate practical interest, relating to social matters, adopted with their approval in the specialized agencies. They will endeavour to conclude as soon as possible conventions with each other in the sphere of social security.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties will make every effort in common to lead their peoples towards a better understanding of the principles which form the basis of their common civilization and to promote cultural exchanges by conventions between themselves or by other means.

Article 4

If any of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, afford the Party so attacked all the military and other aid and assistance in their power.

Article 5

All measures taken as a result of the preceding Article shall be immediately reported to the Security Council. They shall be terminated as soon as the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. The present Treaty does not prejudice in any way the obligations of the High Contracting Parties under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. It shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 6

The High Contracting Parties declare, each so far as he is concerned, that none of the international engagements now in force between him and any other of the High Contracting Parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of the present Treaty. None of the High Contracting Parties will conclude any alliance or participate in any coalition directed against any other of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 7

For the purpose of consulting together on all the questions dealt with in the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties will create a Consultative Council, which shall be so organized as to be able to exercise its functions continuously. The Council shall meet at such times as it shall deem fit. At the request of any of the High Contracting Parties, the Council shall be immediately convened in order to permit the High Contracting Parties to consult with regard to any situation which may constitute a threat to peace, in whatever area this threat should arise; with regard to the attitude to be adopted and the steps to be taken in case of a renewal by Germany of an aggressive policy; or with regard to any situation constituting a danger to economic stability.

Article 8

In pursuance of their determination to settle disputes only by peaceful means, the High Contracting Parties will apply to disputes between themselves the following provisions. The High Contracting Parties will, while the present Treaty remains in force, settle all disputes falling within the scope of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice by referring them to the Court, subject only, in the case of each of them, to any reservation already made by that party when accepting this clause for compulsory jurisdiction to the extent that that Party may maintain the reservation. In addition, the High Contracting Parties will submit to conciliation all disputes outside the scope of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. In the case of a mixed dispute involving both questions for which conciliation is appropriate and other questions for which judicial settlement is appropriate, any Party to the dispute shall have the right to insist that the judicial settlement of the legal questions shall precede conciliation. The preceding provisions of this Article in no way affect the application of relevant provisions or agreements prescribing some other method of pacific settlement.

Article 9

The High Contracting Parties may, by agreement, invite any other State to accede to the present Treaty on conditions to be agreed between them and the State so invited. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing an instrument of

accession with the Belgian Government. The Belgian Government will inform each of the High Contracting Parties of the deposit of each instrument of accession.

Article 10

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Belgian Government. It shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of the last instrument of ratification and shall thereafter remain in force for fifty years. After the expiry of the period of fifty years, each of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to cease to be a party thereto provided that he shall have previously given one year's notice of denunciation to the Belgian Government. The Belgian Government shall inform the Governments of the other High Contracting Parties of the deposit of each instrument of ratification and of each notice of denunciation.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵NATO, *The Brussels Pact*, <http://www.fransamaltingvongeusau.com/documents/dl1/h5/1.5.6.pdf> (accessed 20 April 2012).

APPENDIX C

TRUMAN DOCTRINE

PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN'S ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS, MARCH 12, 1947

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations, The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much.

Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

*I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.*¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶Yale Law School, Lilian Goldman Library, *Truman Doctrine*, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp (accessed 20 April 2012).

APPENDIX D

STRATEGIC CONCEPT FOR THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

Adopted by Heads of State and Government in Lisbon

Active Engagement, Modern Defence

Preface

We, the Heads of State and Government of the NATO nations, are determined that NATO will continue to play its unique and essential role in ensuring our common defence and security. This Strategic Concept will guide the next phase in NATO's evolution, so that it continues to be effective in a changing world, against new threats, with new capabilities and new partners:

- *It reconfirms the bond between our nations to defend one another against attack, including against new threats to the safety of our citizens.*
- *It commits the Alliance to prevent crises, manage conflicts and stabilize post-conflict situations, including by working more closely with our international partners, most importantly the United Nations and the European Union.*
- *It offers our partners around the globe more political engagement with the Alliance, and a substantial role in shaping the NATO-led operations to which they contribute.*
- *It commits NATO to the goal of creating the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons – but reconfirms that, as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world, NATO will remain a nuclear Alliance.*
- *It restates our firm commitment to keep the door to NATO open to all European democracies that meet the standards of membership, because enlargement contributes to our goal of a Europe whole, free and at peace.*
- *It commits NATO to continuous reform towards a more effective, efficient and flexible Alliance, so that our taxpayers get the most security for the money they invest in defence.*

The citizens of our countries rely on NATO to defend Allied nations, to deploy robust military forces where and when required for our security, and to help promote common security with our partners around the globe. While the world is changing, NATO's essential mission will remain the same: to ensure that the Alliance remains an unparalleled community of freedom, peace, security and shared values.

Core Tasks and Principles

1. NATO's fundamental and enduring purpose is to safeguard the freedom and security of all its members by political and military means. Today, the Alliance remains an essential source of stability in an unpredictable world.

2. NATO member states form a unique community of values, committed to the principles of individual liberty, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The Alliance is firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and to the Washington Treaty, which affirms the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

3. The political and military bonds between Europe and North America have been forged in NATO since the Alliance was founded in 1949; the transatlantic link remains as strong, and as important to the preservation of Euro-Atlantic peace and security, as ever. The security of NATO members on both sides of the Atlantic is indivisible. We will continue to defend it together, on the basis of solidarity, shared purpose and fair burden-sharing.

4. The modern security environment contains a broad and evolving set of challenges to the security of NATO's territory and populations. In order to assure their security, the Alliance must and will continue fulfilling effectively three essential core tasks, all of which contribute to safeguarding Alliance members, and always in accordance with international law:

a. **Collective defence.** NATO members will always assist each other against attack, in accordance with Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. That commitment remains firm and binding. NATO will deter and defend against any threat of aggression, and against emerging security challenges where they threaten the fundamental security of individual Allies or the Alliance as a whole.

b. **Crisis management.** NATO has a unique and robust set of political and military capabilities to address the full spectrum of crises – before, during and after conflicts. NATO will actively employ an appropriate mix of those political and military tools to help manage developing crises that have the potential to affect Alliance security, before they escalate into conflicts; to stop ongoing conflicts where they affect Alliance security; and to help consolidate stability in post-conflict situations where that contributes to Euro-Atlantic security.

c. **Cooperative security.** The Alliance is affected by, and can affect, political and security developments beyond its borders. The Alliance will engage actively to enhance international security, through partnership with relevant countries and other international organisations; by contributing actively to arms control, nonproliferation

and disarmament; and by keeping the door to membership in the Alliance open to all European democracies that meet NATO's standards.

5. NATO remains the unique and essential transatlantic forum for consultations on all matters that affect the territorial integrity, political independence and security of its members, as set out in Article 4 of the Washington Treaty. Any security issue of interest to any Ally can be brought to the NATO table, to share information, exchange views and, where appropriate, forge common approaches.

6. In order to carry out the full range of NATO missions as effectively and efficiently as possible, Allies will engage in a continuous process of reform, modernisation and transformation.

The Security Environment

7. Today, the Euro-Atlantic area is at peace and the threat of a conventional attack against NATO territory is low. That is an historic success for the policies of robust defence, Euro-Atlantic integration and active partnership that have guided NATO for more than half a century.

8. However, the conventional threat cannot be ignored. Many regions and countries around the world are witnessing the acquisition of substantial, modern military capabilities with consequences for international stability and Euro-Atlantic security that are difficult to predict. This includes the proliferation of ballistic missiles, which poses a real and growing threat to the Euro-Atlantic area.

9. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and their means of delivery, threatens incalculable consequences for global stability and prosperity. During the next decade, proliferation will be most acute in some of the world's most volatile regions.

10. Terrorism poses a direct threat to the security of the citizens of NATO countries, and to international stability and prosperity more broadly. Extremist groups continue to spread to, and in, areas of strategic importance to the Alliance, and modern technology increases the threat and potential impact of terrorist attacks, in particular if terrorists were to acquire nuclear, chemical, biological or radiological capabilities.

11. Instability or conflict beyond NATO borders can directly threaten Alliance security, including by fostering extremism, terrorism, and trans-national illegal activities such as trafficking in arms, narcotics and people.

12. Cyber attacks are becoming more frequent, more organised and more costly in the damage that they inflict on government administrations, businesses, economies and potentially also transportation and supply networks and other critical infrastructure; they can reach a threshold that threatens national and Euro-Atlantic prosperity, security and stability. Foreign militaries and intelligence services, organised criminals, terrorist and/or extremist groups can each be the source of such attacks.

13. All countries are increasingly reliant on the vital communication, transport and transit routes on which international trade, energy security and prosperity depend. They require greater international efforts to ensure their resilience against attack or disruption. Some NATO countries will become more dependent on foreign energy suppliers and in some cases, on foreign energy supply and distribution networks for their energy needs. As a larger share of world consumption is transported across the globe, energy supplies are increasingly exposed to disruption.

14. A number of significant technology-related trends – including the development of laser weapons, electronic warfare and technologies that impede access to space – appear poised to have major global effects that will impact on NATO military planning and operations.

15. Key environmental and resource constraints, including health risks, climate change, water scarcity and increasing energy needs will further shape the future security environment in areas of concern to NATO and have the potential to significantly affect NATO planning and operations.

Defence and Deterrence

16. The greatest responsibility of the Alliance is to protect and defend our territory and our populations against attack, as set out in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The Alliance does not consider any country to be its adversary. However, no one should doubt NATO's resolve if the security of any of its members were to be threatened.

17. Deterrence, based on an appropriate mix of nuclear and conventional capabilities, remains a core element of our overall strategy. The circumstances in which any use of nuclear weapons might have to be contemplated are extremely remote. As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance.

18. The supreme guarantee of the security of the Allies is provided by the strategic nuclear forces of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States; the independent strategic nuclear forces of the United Kingdom and France, which have a deterrent role of their own, contribute to the overall deterrence

and security of the Allies.

19. We will ensure that NATO has the full range of capabilities necessary to deter and defend against any threat to the safety and security of our populations.

Therefore, we will:

- Maintain an appropriate mix of nuclear and conventional forces;
- Maintain the ability to sustain concurrent major joint operations and several smaller operations for collective defence and crisis response, including at strategic distance;
- Develop and maintain robust, mobile and deployable conventional forces to carry out both our Article 5 responsibilities and the Alliance's expeditionary operations, including with the NATO Response Force;
- Carry out the necessary training, exercises, contingency planning and information exchange for assuring our defence against the full range of conventional and emerging security challenges, and provide appropriate visible assurance and reinforcement for all Allies;
- Ensure the broadest possible participation of Allies in collective defence planning on nuclear roles, in peacetime basing of nuclear forces, and in command, control and consultation arrangements;
- Develop the capability to defend our populations and territories against ballistic missile attack as a core element of our collective defence, which contributes to the indivisible security of the Alliance. We will actively seek cooperation on missile defence with Russia and other Euro-Atlantic partners;
- Further develop NATO's capacity to defend against the threat of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons of mass destruction;
- Develop further our ability to prevent, detect, defend against and recover from cyber-attacks, including by using the NATO planning process to enhance and coordinate national cyber-defence capabilities, bringing all NATO bodies under centralized cyber protection, and better integrating NATO cyber awareness, warning and response with member nations;
- Enhance the capacity to detect and defend against international terrorism, including through enhanced analysis of the threat, more consultations with our partners, and the development of appropriate military capabilities, including to help train local forces to fight terrorism themselves;
- Develop the capacity to contribute to energy security, including protection of critical energy infrastructure and transit areas and lines, cooperation with partners, and consultations among Allies on the basis of strategic assessments and contingency planning;
- Ensure that the Alliance is at the front edge in assessing the

security impact of emerging technologies, and that military planning takes the potential threats into account;

- Sustain the necessary levels of defence spending, so that our armed forces are sufficiently resourced;
- Continue to review NATO's overall posture in deterring and defending against the full range of threats to the Alliance, taking into account changes to the evolving international security environment.

Security through Crisis Management

20. Crises and conflicts beyond NATO's borders can pose a direct threat to the security of Alliance territory and populations. NATO will therefore engage, where possible and when necessary, to prevent crises, manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and support reconstruction.

21. The lessons learned from NATO operations, in particular in Afghanistan and the Western Balkans, make it clear that a comprehensive political, civilian and military approach is necessary for effective crisis management. The Alliance will engage actively with other international actors before, during and after crises to encourage collaborative analysis, planning and conduct of activities on the ground, in order to maximise coherence and effectiveness of the overall international effort.

22. The best way to manage conflicts is to prevent them from happening. NATO will continually monitor and analyse the international environment to anticipate crises and, where appropriate, take active steps to prevent them from becoming larger conflicts.

23. Where conflict prevention proves unsuccessful, NATO will be prepared and capable to manage ongoing hostilities. NATO has unique conflict management capacities, including the unparalleled capability to deploy and sustain robust military forces in the field. NATO-led operations have demonstrated the indispensable contribution the Alliance can make to international conflict management efforts.

24. Even when conflict comes to an end, the international community must often provide continued support, to create the conditions for lasting stability. NATO will be prepared and capable to contribute to stabilisation and reconstruction, in close cooperation and consultation wherever possible with other relevant international actors.

25. To be effective across the crisis management spectrum, we will:

- Enhance intelligence sharing within NATO, to better predict when

crises might occur, and how they can best be prevented;

- Further develop doctrine and military capabilities for expeditionary operations, including counterinsurgency, stabilization and reconstruction operations;
- Form an appropriate but modest civilian crisis management capability to interface more effectively with civilian partners, building on the lessons learned from NATO-led operations. This capability may also be used to plan, employ and coordinate civilian activities until conditions allow for the transfer of those responsibilities and tasks to other actors;
- Enhance integrated civilian-military planning throughout the crisis spectrum,
- Develop the capability to train and develop local forces in crisis zones, so that local authorities are able, as quickly as possible, to maintain security without international assistance;
- Identify and train civilian specialists from member states, made available for rapid deployment by Allies for selected missions, able to work alongside our military personnel and civilian specialists from partner countries and institutions;
- Broaden and intensify the political consultations among Allies, and with partners, both on a regular basis and in dealing with all stages of a crisis – before, during and after.

Promoting International Security through Cooperation Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation

26. NATO seeks its security at the lowest possible level of forces. Arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation contribute to peace, security and stability, and should ensure undiminished security for all Alliance members. We will continue to play our part in reinforcing arms control and in promoting disarmament of both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction, as well as non-proliferation efforts:

- We are resolved to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in accordance with the goals of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, in a way that promotes international stability, and is based on the principle of undiminished security for all.
- With the changes in the security environment since the end of the Cold War, we have dramatically reduced the number of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe and our reliance on nuclear weapons in NATO strategy. We will seek to create the conditions for further reductions in the future.
- In any future reductions, our aim should be to seek Russian agreement to increase transparency on its nuclear weapons in

Europe and relocate these weapons away from the territory of NATO members. Any further steps must take into account the disparity with the greater Russian stockpiles of short-range nuclear weapons.

- We are committed to conventional arms control, which provides predictability, transparency and a means to keep armaments at the lowest possible level for stability. We will work to strengthen the conventional arms control regime in Europe on the basis of reciprocity, transparency and host-nation consent.
- We will explore ways for our political means and military capabilities to contribute to international efforts to fight proliferation.
- National decisions regarding arms control and disarmament may have an impact on the security of all Alliance members. We are committed to maintain, and develop as necessary, appropriate consultations among Allies on these issues.

Open Door

27. NATO's enlargement has contributed substantially to the security of Allies; the prospect of further enlargement and the spirit of cooperative security have advanced stability in Europe more broadly. Our goal of a Europe whole and free, and sharing common values, would be best served by the eventual integration of all European countries that so desire into Euro-Atlantic structures.

- The door to NATO membership remains fully open to all European democracies which share the values of our Alliance, which are willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, and whose inclusion can contribute to common security and stability.

Partnerships

28. The promotion of Euro-Atlantic security is best assured through a wide network of partner relationships with countries and organisations around the globe. These partnerships make a concrete and valued contribution to the success of NATO's fundamental tasks.

29. Dialogue and cooperation with partners can make a concrete contribution to enhancing international security, to defending the values on which our Alliance is based, to NATO's operations, and to preparing interested nations for membership of NATO. These relationships will be based on reciprocity, mutual benefit and mutual respect.

30. We will enhance our partnerships through flexible formats that bring NATO and partners together – across and beyond existing frameworks:

- We are prepared to develop political dialogue and practical cooperation with any nations and relevant organisations across the globe that share our interest in peaceful international relations.
- We will be open to consultation with any partner country on security issues of common concern.
- We will give our operational partners a structural role in shaping strategy and decisions on NATO-led missions to which they contribute.
- We will further develop our existing partnerships while preserving their specificity.

31. Cooperation between NATO and the United Nations continues to make a substantial contribution to security in operations around the world. The Alliance aims to deepen political dialogue and practical cooperation with the UN, as set out in the UN-NATO Declaration signed in 2008, including through:

- enhanced liaison between the two Headquarters;
- more regular political consultation; and
- enhanced practical cooperation in managing crises where both organisations are engaged.

32. An active and effective European Union contributes to the overall security of the Euro-Atlantic area. Therefore the EU is a unique and essential partner for NATO. The two organisations share a majority of members, and all members of both organisations share common values. NATO recognizes the importance of a stronger and more capable European defence. We welcome the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, which provides a framework for strengthening the EU's capacities to address common security challenges. Non-EU Allies make a significant contribution to these efforts. For the strategic partnership between NATO and the EU, their fullest involvement in these efforts is essential. NATO and the EU can and should play complementary and mutually reinforcing roles in supporting international peace and security. We are determined to make our contribution to create more favourable circumstances through which we will:

- fully strengthen the strategic partnership with the EU, in the spirit of full mutual openness, transparency, complementarity and respect for the autonomy and institutional integrity of both organisations;
- enhance our practical cooperation in operations throughout the crisis spectrum, from coordinated planning to mutual support in the field;
- broaden our political consultations to include all issues of common concern, in order to share assessments and perspectives;
- cooperate more fully in capability development, to minimise duplication and maximise cost-effectiveness.

33. NATO-Russia cooperation is of strategic importance as it contributes to creating a common space of peace, stability and security. NATO poses no threat to Russia. On the contrary: we want to see a true strategic partnership between NATO and Russia, and we will act accordingly, with the expectation of reciprocity from Russia.

34. The NATO-Russia relationship is based upon the goals, principles and commitments of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and the Rome Declaration, especially regarding the respect of democratic principles and the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states in the Euro-Atlantic area. Notwithstanding differences on particular issues, we remain convinced that the security of NATO and Russia is intertwined and that a strong and constructive partnership based on mutual confidence, transparency and predictability can best serve our security. We are determined to:

- enhance the political consultations and practical cooperation with Russia in areas of shared interests, including missile defence, counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics, counter-piracy and the promotion of wider international security;
- use the full potential of the NATO-Russia Council for dialogue and joint action with Russia.

35. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and Partnership for Peace are central to our vision of Europe whole, free and in peace. We are firmly committed to the development of friendly and cooperative relations with all countries of the Mediterranean, and we intend to further develop the Mediterranean Dialogue in the coming years. We attach great importance to peace and stability in the Gulf region, and we intend to strengthen our cooperation in the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. We will aim to:

- enhance consultations and practical military cooperation with our partners in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council;
- continue and develop the partnerships with Ukraine and Georgia within the NATO-Ukraine and NATO-Georgia Commissions, based on the NATO decision at the Bucharest summit 2008, and taking into account the Euro-Atlantic orientation or aspiration of each of the countries;
- facilitate the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Western Balkans, with the aim to ensure lasting peace and stability based on democratic values, regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations;
- deepen the cooperation with current members of the Mediterranean Dialogue and be open to the inclusion in the Mediterranean Dialogue of other countries of the region;

- develop a deeper security partnership with our Gulf partners and remain ready to welcome new partners in the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative.

Reform and Transformation

36. Unique in history, NATO is a security Alliance that fields military forces able to operate together in any environment; that can control operations anywhere through its integrated military command structure; and that has at its disposal core capabilities that few Allies could afford individually.

37. NATO must have sufficient resources – financial, military and human – to carry out its missions, which are essential to the security of Alliance populations and territory. Those resources must, however, be used in the most efficient and effective way possible. We will:

- maximise the deployability of our forces, and their capacity to sustain operations in the field, including by undertaking focused efforts to meet NATO's usability targets;
- ensure the maximum coherence in defence planning, to reduce unnecessary duplication, and to focus our capability development on modern requirements;
- develop and operate capabilities jointly, for reasons of costeffectiveness and as a manifestation of solidarity;
- preserve and strengthen the common capabilities, standards, structures and funding that bind us together;
- engage in a process of continual reform, to streamline structures, improve working methods and maximise efficiency.

An Alliance for the 21st Century

38. We, the political leaders of NATO, are determined to continue renewal of our Alliance so that it is fit for purpose in addressing the 21st Century security challenges. We are firmly committed to preserve its effectiveness as the globe's most successful political-military Alliance. Our Alliance thrives as a source of hope because it is based on common values of individual liberty, democracy, human rights and the rule of law, and because our common essential and enduring purpose is to safeguard the freedom and security of its members. These values and objectives are universal and perpetual, and we are determined to defend them through unity, solidarity, strength and resolve.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷NATO, New Strategic Concept 2010, <http://www.nato.int/lisbon2010/strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf> (accessed 20 April 2012).

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